

MAR 8 1926

Volume XII

MARCH, 1926

Number 3

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF

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THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
BALTIMORE

Eight Numbers a Year — Single Copy (Current) Seventy-five Cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Baltimore, Maryland, Postoffice

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103,
Act of Congress of July 16, 1924

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A Monthly Publication with intermission from July to October (inclusive)

EDITED BY

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and H. Carrington Lancaster

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The Subscription Price of the current annual volume is
\$5.00 for the United States and Mexico and \$5.50 for other
countries included in the Postal Union.

Contributors and Publishers should send manuscripts and books for review to the
Editors of Modern Language Notes, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland.

Subscriptions and other business communications should be sent to the Johns Hopkins
Press, Baltimore, Maryland.

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

American Branch

35 WEST 32ND STREET, NEW YORK



Modern Language Notes

Volume XLI

March, 1926

Number 3

SPENSER'S DRAGON

BY WHITNEY WELLS

Critics have dismissed many elements of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* as mere romance convention,¹ thus unnecessarily limiting much recent Spenser investigation. In the following study of one of the most royal of Spenser's purple patches, the description of the dragon in Book I, Canto XI, of the *Faerie Queene*, I have endeavored to ascertain not only what specific romance elements the poet here controlled, but those works to which one can point definitely as provenience for his monstrous and horrible beast.

It is unfortunate that the host, so soon adjuring the dignity of God, stunted Chaucer of his *Tale of Sir Thopas*. The knight of the seemly nose may very easily have encountered some creature more dread than the buck and hare of his kitchen-garden forest—more dread even than Sir Olyfaunt!—perhaps a dragon. That here was fit sport for Chaucer's pen, out of "rhymes lerned longe agoon," but a superficial study of the romances reveals; although what dainty thing Chaucer might have made of it, what details he would have selected to parody, are conjecture only. Awe and sophistication have little in common, and the romance monsters are an unterrifying lot.

This latter fact, a truism to any one at all acquainted with the romances, becomes particularly apparent when comparison is made with Spenser's description. First, Spenser's monster is much larger than the ordinary "wine-tun"² beast of the romances:

¹ Most recently, F. I. Carpenter: *A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser*, Chicago, 1923, p. 166; and L. Winstanley: *The Faerie Queene, Book I*, Cambridge, 1915, p. xlv.

² The favorite object of comparison used by the romance writers: *Sir Eglamour of Artois* (*The Thornton Romances*, London, 1884, l. 778);

each scale is a brazen shield,³ each wing a sail supported with mainyards,⁴ each eye a huge glaring lamp,⁵ each claw sharper than stings or sharpest steel,⁶ figures not met with in the descriptions of the comparatively puny romance creatures. Every part of Spenser's dragon is glorified, and gains by such magnificence

Bevis of Hampton (EETS ES XLVI; l. 2673), etc. The writers were also unimaginatively specific: Guy of Warwick's dragon measures 'britti fote' (EETS ES XLII; l. 7293); *Bevis of Hampton's*, 'foure and twenti fot, saunfaile' (l. 2670); Sir Degaré's 'xxii fote' (Utterson, *Select Pieces of Early English Popular Poetry*, London, 1817, l. 312), etc. The serpent guarding the Castle of Adamant in *Huon of Bordeaux* (EETS ES XL; p. 374) is merely 'heyer then any hors,' a figure repeated later in the description of the griffin (*Ibid.*, p. 426). Such specifications, however unimaginative, quite definitely prescribe the size limits of the romance dragon. Spenser's magnificent monster has no prototype in the romances.

³ The romance simile, seldom further elaborated, for a dragon's scales was 'hard ase eni bras' (*Bevis of Hampton*, l. 2676). Cf. *Sir Degaré*, l. 316; *Sir Eglamour*, l. 775; *Sabra and the Seven Champions* (London, 1766), p. 15, etc. Some variants of the object compared may be noted, thus 'stone' (*Bevis of Hampton*, l. 2677), 'flint' (*Sir Tristrem*, in Kolbing, *Tristan Saga*, Heilbronn, 1878, l. 1452), etc. Spenser here uses the conventional brass figure, the shields according with the huge size of his creature. Cf. below, p. 146.

⁴ The wings of the romance dragon were usually ordinary and seldom more than mentioned. In *Bevis of Hampton*, l. 2675, they 'schon so þe glas'; in *Sir Eglamour*, l. 776, they are 'grene as any gras'; in *Sir Torrent of Portingale* (EETS ES LI), l. 546, 'long and wyght,' etc. Many were apparently wingless (*Sir Tristrem*, *Sir Degaré*, *Huon of Bordeaux*, etc.), and nowhere is there a hint of Spenser's splendid similes.

⁵ In general, emphasis upon a dragon's eyes was omitted in the romances, although many of the writers drew attention to their fire-darting property. So, in the *Wars of Alexander* (EETS ES XLVII), l. 3871, 'flawmes feruent as fyre, floze fra þaire eȝen'; in *Sir Degaré*, l. 315, 'his eyen were bright as any glasse,' etc. *Huon of Bordeaux* approaches most near to Spenser's stanza, since Huon's griffin has 'eyen as great as a basyn, and more redder than the mouthe of a fornays' (p. 427) and the earlier serpent has 'eyen lyke ii torches brynnning' (p. 374). But even these pale beside the 'two bright, shining shieldes,' and 'glaring lampes' with their attendant fatalities that Spenser describes.

⁶ The dragon's claws were seldom part of a dragon description in the romances, although when described fall into a conventional mould. Thus, in *Sir Degaré* (l. 309), 'as a lyon . . . was hys feete'; in *Guy of Warwick* (l. 7165), etc. Spenser makes no use of this simile, of course, and the greater effect is apparent.

not the prettiness that the *Morte Arthure* poet and Malory⁷ attained in their descriptions, but something very nearly approaching wonder.

Undoubtedly Spenser used the romance animals in his dragon description, as he did romance motifs in the combat that immediately ensues. The first spear-thrust glances off the beast's hide as happens in nearly every romance;⁸ the dragon's tail becomes his chief weapon;⁹ there is an episode in the *Huon*¹⁰ that may easily have furnished the hint for the flight through the heavens; the knight first wounds the creature under the wing as do Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Hampton, and St. George;¹¹ the knight is scorched by the fiery breath as is Sir Tristrem;¹² parallelisms to the Well and Tree of Life have been pointed out in both *Bevis of Hampton* and *Huon of Bordeaux*;¹³ like Sir Torrent and the Knight of Courtesy, the knight hacks off the creature's tail;¹⁴ the dragon's foot that clutches the shield is amputated as in the *Huon*;¹⁵ the mortal thrust is given down the beast's throat as it is also by *Huon*;¹⁶ finally, the people flee the dead dragon as they do in *Sir Eglamour of Artois*.¹⁷ There is not an episode of the struggle but can be directly traced to one or more romances. The combat, then, is a composite glare of romance high-lights; where one or two sufficed the romance original, Spenser took all. But

⁷ *Morte Arthure*, EETS VIII, l. 760 ff.; and Malory, *Morte Darthur*, Book v, Chapter 4.

⁸ Cf. *Sabra and the Seven Champions*, p. 15; *Bevis of Hampton*, l. 2769 ff.; *Huon of Bordeaux*, p. 382; *Sir Tristrem*, l. 1447 ff.; *Guy of Warwick*, l. 7211 ff.; *Sir Degaré*, l. 327 ff., etc.

⁹ *Bevis of Hampton*, l. 2846 ff.; *Huon of Bordeaux*, p. 382; *Sir Torrent*, l. 552; *Guy of Warwick*, l. 7248; *Sir Degaré*, l. 342 ff.; *The Knight of Courtesy* (in Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, Vol. III, p. 172 ff.), l. 249 ff., etc.

¹⁰ *Huon of Bordeaux*, p. 430 ff.

¹¹ *Guy of Warwick*, l. 7281; *Bevis of Hampton*, l. 2527 (M text); *Sabra and the Seven Champions*, p. 15.

¹² *Sir Tristrem*, l. 1470 ff.

¹³ For example, by L. Winstanley, *op. cit.*, pp. xlvi, xlviii.

¹⁴ *Sir Torrent*, l. 559; *The Knight of Courtesy*, l. 260.

¹⁵ *Huon of Bordeaux*, p. 431.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

¹⁷ Ll. 784 ff.

this does not hold for his dragon description; for here in only one or two minor details has he followed the romances.

Oddly enough, in the few cases where he most makes use of the conventions, critics have insisted on pointing his sources. Thus Miss Winstanley holds that "Spenser certainly copies Sir Bevis of Southampton in his description of the fight with the dragon,"¹⁸ citing as one of the closest parallels the *Bevis*,

His skales brighter were than glasse
And moche harder than any brasse

and Spenser's

And over, all with brasen scales was armed.

But brazen scales were, perhaps, the most typical attribute of the romance dragon, as I have indicated, and an identity may just as easily be established, for instance, with *Sir Degaré*, *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, or *Sabra and the Seven Champions*, all of which contain further parallelisms to support the provenience. In his earlier poem, *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie*, Spenser gave the dragon there

. . . shields of brasse, that shone like burnisht gold,

(Stanza vi)

in which respect his *Faerie Queene* dragon is slightly more elaborated.

Again, Miss Winstanley and others find the

Three ranckes of yron teeth

in Ovid's

triplici stant ordine dentes.¹⁹

Although this feature was not a convention of the romances, it was common to the popularly conceived idea of the dragon and to a number of fabulous creatures. Another classical instance might be drawn from Nicander

Triplici conspicui se produnt ordine dentes²⁰

and Topsell describes the dragons as "hauing a treble rowe of

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. xlv.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 284. Cf. also Todd's edition, London, 1805, Vol. III, p. 157. Upton (London, 1758, Vol. II, p. 414), cites Daniel, VII, 7.

²⁰ As quoted by Topsell, *The Historie of Serpents*, London, 1608, p. 159, who cites further poets.

teeth in theyr mouthes vppon euery iawe." The mantichora, according to Gesner, have "dentes triplici utrinque ordine."²¹ All of the source citations given for the dragon episode by Miss Winstanley and others may be similarly criticized, although concerning the dragon description *per se* they are conspicuously absent, except for those more conventional details noticed above.

One queries, accordingly, Spenser's description of his dragon, so unconforming to romance outline, and particularly in its juxtaposition to the series of romance episodes inculcated in the combat description. Was some other force, influence, at work, weaning Spenser's ideas from the paltry dragon conception of the romances he undoubtedly had before him, later relinquishing him to them for his combat episodes? And was this force entirely his own imagination and genius?

With allowance always for the latter factors, Spenser would have given us an animal comparable in many ways to Stephen Hawes' dragon in *The Pastime of Pleasure* had he pursued the method in describing his beast that he used in the combat. As painters have sometimes amused themselves with quite literally depicting the poet's mistress—actual pearls for teeth, full-blown roses on the cheeks, a swan's brow, shell ears—so Hawes, in all seriousness and very bad verse, creates an actual romance dragon with a result as ludicrous as any conception of these painters.²² Hawes used all the conventional romance details—his beast, in fact, may be used as a guide to them²³—and the clanking automaton is one of the curiosities of literature.

Perhaps Spenser knew this product of Hawes²⁴ and was aware of the inadequacy of its effect; at least, he realized the impotency

²¹ Conrad Gesner, *Historia Animalium*, Zurich, 1555, Lib. I, p. 631.

²² *The Pastime of Pleasure*, London, 1845, p. 192.

²³ Allowing for the influence of Nebuchadnezzar's image which is similarly apparent in his conception.

²⁴ There may be some slight hint in Spenser's

Eftsoones he gan aduance his haughty crest,
As chauffed bore his bristles doth upreare

(*FQ*, I, XI, 15)

and Hawes'

His backe afore, lyke brystles of a swyne,
Of the fine copper did moost clerely shyne.

(*P of P*, p. 192)

of the romance dragon that Hawes so unwittingly parodies. Custom had not staled the variety of fight episodes, or at least the poet saw that evasion of the ridiculous consisted in making that variety infinite. But custom had quite decidedly staled the dragon itself, which no amount of conventional variety could redeem, as Hawes' attempt proves. Where, then, lay the escape?

Investigation of the classics or of the poets more immediately prior to Spenser does not help. Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, and the writers of the dead season—Hawes,²⁵ Skelton, Heywood, and others—contain no such conception. Gascoigne, the euphuistic conceits of Pettie and Lyly are as similarly absurd proveniences, and dragons have almost no place in the ballads.

The romances themselves furnish a hint, and may very well have served Spenser the same office since, as the combat episodes prove, he had them before him. The writer of *Sir Degaré* concludes his description of the dragon with

He was to loke on as I you tell,
As it had bene a fiende of hell, (l. 321 ff.)

in *Sir Tristrem* the creature is called "*pe deuel dragoun*" (l. 1451), and in *Huon of Bordeaux*, "the beest semyd rather an *enemye of hel* then any other beest." (p. 381.) The like simile occurs in many romances,²⁶ and Hawes' beast in *The Example of Virtue* is also an inhabitant of hell.²⁷ As is well-known, in the early miracle-plays "the *infernium* or hell (was) conventionally represented by the head and open gullet of a monstrous dragon,"²⁸ a further attestation to the medieval idea of the dragon as a power for evil.

Another key is furnished by Spenser's allegory. To quote Miss Winstanley:

The Rederosse Knight represents man in his search for Holiness; his

²⁵ Hawes has another dragon in *The Example of Virtue* (*The Dunbar Anthology*, London, 1901, p. 268 ff.), a stilted creature with three heads—the World, the Flesh, and the Devil—modelled on the hydra of Hercules' fame.

²⁶ Cf. particularly, *Sir Eglamour*, l. 735; *Sir Tristrem*, l. 1440; *Sabra and the Seven Champions*, p. 15; *The Knight of Courtesy*, l. 240, etc.

²⁷ Hawes, *The Example of Virtue*, pp. 271, 286.

²⁸ E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, II, p. 86.

great task is the slaying of the dragon of sin which keeps mankind (i. e. the parents of Una) in subjection.²⁰

Dodge considers the dragon as representative of the devil,²⁰ Court-hope, also, 'the evil one.'²¹ The slight differences are unimportant since, in any event, the dragon is symbolic of an occupant of hell. So Spenser considers him, referring to the creature as 'that huge feend' (I, XI, 3), 'that infernall monster' (I, XI, 31), 'damned feend' (I, XI, 35), and 'hell-bred beast' (I, XI, 40). It is the Other-world vision-pieces, then—those Odysseys of entranced souls—that may aid toward a solution of the problem.

The Apocalypse of John may be immediately dismissed since Spenser had already used its dragon as palfrey for Duessa, the gift of Orgoglio (*FQ*, I, VII, 16 ff.). There is no hint of it in the dragon description under discussion. The classical descriptions of Hades are similarly inconsequent. Dante's Satan, whose wings

vele di mar non vid'io mai cotali (*Inferno*, XXXIV, 48)

may have served as the hint for Spenser's similar though more elaborate description, but since there is no other intimation of Spenser's use of the *Inferno* fiends and monsters, it must stand alone.

The piece that concerns the present study particularly, however, is *The Vision of Tundale*,²² one of the best known and certainly one of the most elaborate of the medieval visions. Its popularity

²⁰ P. viii.

²⁰ R. E. N. Dodge, *The Complete Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, Cambridge Edition, 1908, p. 816.

²¹ *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, 1911, III, 233.

²² In the vision of Drihthelm (Bede, v, 12), there is no monster to horrify the unhappy initiate; nor is there in the two shorter visions that follow this account. *The Vision of the Monk of Evesham*, printed 1482 by William de Machlinia, contains devils, fire-darting 'worms,' and 'grete bestys,' but there is no more elaboration of description than occurs in the Bede. *The Vision of Thurcill* may be similarly dismissed. In *The Vision of St. Paul*, the eleven pains involve an intimate acquaintance with poisonous reptiles, a lake full of venomous serpents, and horned devils; but in none of its six redactions is there any monster or elaborateness of description. *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, *The Harrowing of Hell*, *Brandon's Voyage*, Deguileville's *Pelerinage de l'Ame* (translated by Caxton, 1483) may also be mentioned as containing no indication of their use by Spenser at this point.

is indicated by the survival of a great number of manuscripts in Latin, French, German, and Norse.³³ Wagner lists fifty-four of the Latin, and of an English version four manuscripts are extant, all of the fifteenth century.³⁴ This editor dates the English original at the end of the fourteenth century, finding it a translation of one of the most elaborate Latin versions. It is quite possible, then, even probable, owing to a popularity thus evidenced, that Spenser was acquainted with the *Vision of Tundale*.

In his vision, Tundale, guided by an angel, descends into Hell and passes through a valley strewn with hot coals, beside a mountain of fire and ice. Yawning abysses, fiery ovens, pillars of flame, are other details. But what concern the present study particularly are the huge beast called Acheron, the beast in the lake of ice, the terrible creatures in the lakes of fire and water, Satan and his fiends. Comparison of their descriptions with Spenser will indicate, I believe, the true original of the latter's dragon.³⁵

Issuing from a long way of mirkiness, Tundale and his guardian angel

. . . se þan a hedewes sight:
þai se a beste was more to knaw,
þan alle þe mountaynes, þat þai saw,
And his ene zete semed more
And bradder, þan þe valeys wore (VT, 440 ff.)

and Satan is also huge:

He was bothe mekille and stronge,
A hundred cubites was he longe.
Fourti cubytes on brede he hadde
And nine on theknes was he made. (VT, 1311 ff.)

So, in Spenser,

Eftsoones that dreadfull dragon they espyde,
Where stretcht he lay upon the sunny side
Of a great hill, *himselfe like a great hill* . . .
And made wide shadow under his huge waste;
As mountaine doth the valley overcaste. (FQ, I, XI, 4 ff.)

³³ A. Wagner, *Visio Tundali*, Erlangen, 1882, p. ix ff.

³⁴ A. Wagner, *Tundale*, Halle, 1893, p. ix ff.; p. xxxix.

³⁵ I have used for quotation the composite text of the English version published by Wagner. The italics are mine.

The beast Acheron, again,

*In at his mouth, þat was so wyde,
Nyne thousand armed men myght in ryde.
Betwene his tuskes, þat were so longe,
Two grete geandes se he honge.
þe hede of þat one hengid alle downe
And þat otheris hede agaynes his crowne,
In myddis his mouth on ilke a syde,
Pileris were sette to hold hit up wyde.
Tho pylaris were sette on sere wyse:
In his mouthe were thre partyse,
As thre gret zattes, þat open stode;
Grete flammes of fyr out at hit zode,
And þerewith come as foule a stynke,
As tonge may telle or hert thinke. (VT, 445 ff.)*

and Spenser:

*. . . his deepe devouring jawes
Wyde gaped, like the griesly mouth of hell,
Through which into his dark abysses all ravin fell.
And, that more wondrous was, in either jaw
Three ranckes of yron teeth enraunged were,
In which yett trickling blood and gobbets raw
Of late devoured bodies did appeare,
That sight thereof bredd cold congealed feare:
Which to increase, and all atonce to kill,
A cloud of smothering smoke and sulphure seare
Out of his stinking gorge forth steemed still,
That all the ayre about with smoke and stench did fill.*

(FQ, I, XI, 12 ff.)

Satan's mouth is *fulle wyde* (VT, l. 1333) and he thrusts souls into it:

*He swolowed hem agayne ilkone
With smoke and stynke of brymstone. (VT, 1375 ff.)*

Another beast in a lake of ice,

*Fyre, þat myght never sleked be,
Out at his mouthe flew gret plente. (VT, 871 ff.)*

Spenser:

*From his infernall founnace forth he threw
Huge flames, that dimmed all the hevrens light,
Enrold in duskish smoke and brimstone blew. (FQ, I, XI, 44.)*

Over a bridge, scarcely the breadth of one hand, Tundale is forced to drive a cow, while in the water beneath wait ugly beasts whose

. . . ene wer brode and brennand bryght,
As brennand lampes dose on nyght, (VT, 557 ff.)

and some fiends are met later whose eyes also,

. . . were brennyng wonþer brade.
As brennyng lampes lyght þai ware,
And grymly gon þai on hym stare. (VT, 1232 ff.)

Spenser:

*His blazing eyes, like two bright shining shieldes,
Did burne with wrath, and sparkled living fyre;
As two broad beacons . . .
But far within, as in a hollow glade,
Those glaring lampes were sett, that made a dreadfull shade.*
(FQ, I, XI, 14)

The beast in the lake of ice,

Two grete wynges, þat weron blake,
Stode on eyther syde his bake, (VT, 861 ff.)

and the devils

. . . hade wynges longe and brade:
As bake wynges were þai made.
With her wynges myght þai fly,
Wheder þai wold, lowe or hy, (VT, 1243 ff.)

but Spenser's description in this place more nearly follows Dante.³⁰
Again, concerning the beast in the lake of ice,

*Two fete with nayles of irne and stele
He had, þat were ful scharpe to fele,* (VT, 863 ff.)

and the fiends,

. . . hade nayles on her clokes,
þat wer lyke anker hokes;
As þai wer made al of stele,
þe poyntes were ful scharpe to fele, (VT, 1239 ff.)

and Satan has on each hand,

Twenty fyngeris with nayles kene . . .

³⁰ Cf. above, p. 149; also, below, p. 157.

*His nayles semed of irne stronge,
 Fulle scharpe pai were, gret and longe,
 Longere þan ever was ony spere,
 þat armed knyghtes ar wont to bere. (VT, 1320 ff.)*

Spenser³⁷:

*But stinges and sharpest steele did far exceed
 The sharpnesse of his cruel rending claws. (FQ, I, XI, 12)*

Finally, the bodies of the fiends

*. . . were like dragons
 And here tayles lyke scorpiones, (VT, 1237 ff.)*

and Satan's tail

*. . . was scharpe and of gret lenght,
 And in hit hade he gret strenght.
 In his tayle was mony a pyke,
 With hit tho soules gon he stryke. (VT, 1335 ff.)*

So in the huge long tayle of Spenser's dragon are two stings

*Both deadly sharp, that sharpest steele exceeden farr.
 (FQ, I, XI, 11)*

These parallels differ, of course, as one should anticipate. It would be a complete miscomprehension of Spenser's method and genius to expect a verbatim rendering. At least, they are closer than any comparisons involving the romance dragons except in those instances cited before. That the creatures of Tundale's hell furnished the basic hints for the poet's conception, particularly in its idea of vastness, seems likely, and there is further evidence.

Tundale enters a dale containing a smithy where the souls of those who haunted folly are heated and hammered out (VT, 1010 ff.). In Book II, Canto 7, of the *Faerie Queene*, the cave of Mammon also contains a smithy presided over by fiends who stop at the sight of Guyon much in the manner of Tundale's devils. The following are the most striking parallels:

*. . . smythes aboute hem zode . . .
 Tho smythes wer ugly on to loke. (VT, 1014 ff.)
 By every founace many feendes did byde,
 Deformed creatures, horrible in sight . . .
 And ugly shapes . . . (FQ, II, VII, 35 ff.)*

³⁷ Spenser, it should be noted, conceived his beast as two-footed, proved by the combat. Cf. *FQ*, I, XI, 42, 43.

*With gret belyes at hym pai blewe,
As hit wer irne to make newe. (VT, 1045 ff.)*

*One with great belloues gathered filling ayre,
And with forst wind the fewell did inflame. (FQ, II, vii, 36.)*

*With gret hammers in her hande
And gret tonges hote gloand. (VT, 1015 ff.)*

*Another did the dying bronds repayre
With yron tongs . . . (FQ, II, vii, 36.)*

*In gret fires pai gon hem cast
And sithen with hammers layde on fast.
þe mayster of þe smithyes was balde,
Ulcani was his name calde. (VT, 1021 ff.)*

*. . . and sprinckled ofte the same,
With liquid waves, fiers Vulcans rage to tame,
Who, maystring them, renewd his former heat. (FQ, II, vii, 36.)*

It is at least conceivable that the *Vision of Tundale* may have furnished the hint for Spenser's conception. The remainder of the Canto, too, is a 'vision piece,' although the classical Hades is more evidently Spenser's model. The gold chain of Ambition may have been suggested by a sight in Tundale's paradise:

*From the firmament above her hede
Come mony bryght bemes into þat stede,
From the whylke chaynes hange monyfolde,
Shynand full bryght of fyne gold . . .
And angelles flowe ay amonge. (VT, 1969 ff.)*

Spenser:

*She held a great gold chaine ylincked well,
Whose upper end to highest heven was knitt . . .
And all that preace did rownd about her swell,
To catchen hold of that long chaine, thereby
To climbe aloft. . . (FQ, II, vii, 46.)*

Miss Winstanley devotes an amount of effort³⁸ to proving that *Bevis of Hampton* furnished the source for Spenser's Well of Life, gliding over the more obvious discrepancies. Bevis, like the Red Cross Knight, is bowled over into a well by the dragon's tail:

The narrative goes on to explain, however, that the well was of such

³⁸ Pp. xlvii ff.

virtue that no dragon or other venomous creature could approach within seven feet of it; it owed that power to the fact that a holy virgin had bathed therein. . . . Bevis gladly avails himself of the virtues of the well.

. . .

Miss Winstanley then begins to gloss over certain facts:

Spenser does not give the legend of the saintly nymph who bathed in the well, for he wishes to bestow upon it still more wonderful properties and to make it emblematic of the well of life. . . . Spenser does not explain that the properties of the well kept the dragon away; perhaps he leaves that to be assumed.

But perhaps Spenser does not give the legend of the nymph nor explain the dragon's adverseness to the well because his true model did not! Furthermore this model may have been an *actual* Well of Life that occurs in the 'earthly paradise' of Tundale's vision.

Issuing from hell, Tundale and his guide enter a flowery mead where

*In myddes þat place was a welle,
þe fayrest, þat ony tonge myght of telle.
Fro þat ran mony streames sere
Of water, þat was fayre and clere . . .
Þe welle, þat þou has sene here,
With þe water, þat sprynges so clere,
Is called þe skylle þe welle of lyffe.
þe name of hit is fulle ryfe. (VT, 1531 ff.)*

Spenser:

*Behynd his backe, unweeting, where he stood,
Of auncient time there was a springing well,
From which fast trickled forth a silver flood . . .
. . . . it rightly hot
The Well of Life. . . . (FQ, I, xi, 29)*

The fountain in the *Bevis* does *not* heal the knight of his wounds, but merely keeps the dragon and its venom away; a fact that Miss Winstanley is forced to note that Spenser does not use. In *Tundale*, however, the guide says to the hero,

*Tho soules, þat þou ses her within,
Have ben in payne for her synne,
But þai are clensted throw goddis grace
And dwellen now her in þis place . . .
Who so drynkes her of þis welle,*

Honger shall he never fele
 Ne threste shall he never mare,
 But *lyking have withouten care.*
If he were olde, withoute payne
Hit wold make hym zonge agayne. (VT, 1541 ff.)

Spenser:

Full of great vertues, and for med'cine good. . .
 For unto life the dead it could restore,
And guilt of sinfull crimes cleane wash away;
 Those that with sicknesse were infected sore
 It could recure, *and aged long decay*
Renew, as one were borne that very day. (FQ, I, XI, 29 ff.)

Bevis' well, then, has far less in common with Spenser's well than has Tundale's, although I do not deny that the *Bevis* episode may have furnished the hint to Spenser who, thereupon remembering the well of the vision-piece, used it as his model.

The original hint, however, would seem more likely to have come from the fountain in *Huon of Bordeaux* which is nearer Tundale and, consequently, Spenser.

This fountayne was callyd the fountayne of youth . . . and (Huon) had no soner dronke therof but incontynent he was hole of all his woundys.³⁹

Properties that Spenser's and Tundale's wells have in common, however, are not true of Spenser's and Huon's, particularly the name, the cleansing from sin,⁴⁰ and the restoration of youth to crabbed age. The last virtue as a quality of Huon's fountain can be inferred only from its name—the fountain of youth.

That the *Huon*, and not the *Bevis*, furnished the point of tangency to the Tundale vision, seems still more certain by the apple tree which stands beside the fountain of youth in the former romance and which Spenser undoubtedly took, as Miss Winstanley has pointed out, for his Tree of Life. There is a tree, similar in many respects however, in Tundale's Paradise (VT, 1200 ff.).

We may consider, then, that the same process took place in this

³⁹ P. 434.

⁴⁰ It is not clear in *The Vision of Tundale* whether this is a property of the well, or whether it indicates an attribute of the inhabitants of the earthly paradise. At least, they drink of the Well of Life and the sin-cleansed quality may have been easily transferred by Spenser.

episode that occurred in the dragon description—the romance in hand pointed to a more elaborate account, the *Vision of Tundale*, that Spenser recognized as superior.

Spenser's use of this source is typical, proved by a similar method in dealing with Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*.⁴¹ Fulfillment is far flung from the original hint, and the leagues of fairy-land lie between. A more immediate case in point is the description of the dragon's wings. If one grants the Dante provenience—a metaphor of mere broad sails—Spenser has elaborated, given us the sails hollowed by the gathering wind, carried the figure farther into quills 'like mayne-yardes, with flying canvas lynd,' leaving the logic of the climactic Alexandrine unquestioned:

And all the hevens stood still, amazed with his threat.

(FQ, I, xi, 10)

An inquiry into the sources of Spenser's similes has yet to be made and Carpenter sets it as a suggested problem.⁴² When it is accomplished, the poet's great use of figures drawn from a knowledge of sea-craft (there are three in the dragon episode, alone⁴³) will become apparent. It is this that leads to a doubt of the Dante influence, here. It should be remembered, too, that Spenser's knowledge of the Italian poet is still questionable. But his ability to weave a tapestry from mere gossamer stands clear, whether Dante, the romances, or *Tundale* furnished the basic strand.

If nothing else, then, this study has at least shown that Spenser's dragon is not the creature it is usually considered, having, and only incidentally, very little in common with the ordinary dragon of the romances. Rather is it a true beast from the medieval Hell, compact of the beasts from the hell of Tundale.

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⁴¹ Cf. J. L. Lowes, "Spenser and the *Mirour de l'Omme*," *P. M. L. A.*, XXIX, 3.

⁴² *A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser*, p. 305.

⁴³ FQ, I, xi, 10; 21; XII, 1.

JOSEPH TRAPP AND THE ARISTOTELIAN
"CATHARSIS"

BY MARVIN T. HERRICK

Present-day students of Aristotle's dramatic criticism are generally inclined to accept without much questioning the so-called 'modern' interpretation of *catharsis* in the famous definition of Tragedy. Bywater, himself one of the ablest exponents of the 'modern' theory, nevertheless has gone to some pains to offer evidence both for and against it. In his elaborate note on the last clause in the definition¹ he recognizes two distinct interpretations of *κάθαρσις*.² Following a long line of scholars, we may regard the term as a metaphor from the religious rite of *purification*, or we may take it to be a physiological metaphor from medicine in the sense of *purging*. The first is commonly known as the older interpretation, especially pleasing to the moralizing spirit of Renaissance scholars. It is both ethical and didactic, and fits in well with the fashionable dual function of poetry—to teach and delight. The second, the pathological interpretation, is generally attributed jointly to Weil and Bernays of the nineteenth century. Bywater, however, in the appendix to his edition of the *Poetics* and in the commentary as well, has shown that there are instances of this 'modern' interpretation as far back as the sixteenth century. In an earlier article, entitled *Milton and the Aristotelian Definition of Tragedy*,³ he has produced numerous extracts from various commentators, mostly Italian, of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, to prove beyond doubt that the pathological meaning of the word was then by no means unknown. His extract from the *Galateo* of Giovanni della Casa, both from the original and from the Elizabethan translation, is of particular interest, since the translation probably represents the first mention of the

¹ Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Oxford, 1909, 6. 1449^b27.

² G. S. Brett recognizes three interpretations: the pathological, the religious, and the moral. See his *Reflections on Aristotle's View of Tragedy*, in *Philosophical Essays Presented to John Watson*, Kingston, 1922, pp. 158-78.

³ See *Journal of Philology* 27 (1901). 267-75.

tragic *catharsis* in English. The passage, as Englished by Robert Peterson in 1576, runs as follows:⁴

Albeit, not long since I heard it said to a worthy gentleman our neighbour, that men have many times more need to weep than to laugh. And for that cause, he said, these doleful tales which we call tragedies were devised at first, that when they were played in the theatre (as at that time they were wont) they might draw forth tears out of their eyes, that had need to spend them. And so they were by their weeping healed of their infirmity.

Milton, influenced by the Italian commentators, had some notion of the pathological interpretation. The brief remarks in his preface to *Samson Agonistes* may be quoted here:

Tragedy, as it was antiently compos'd, hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other Poems: therefore said by Aristotle to be of power by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those and such like passions, that is, to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirr'd up by reading or seeing those passions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his assertion: for so in Physic things of melancholic hue and quality are us'd against melancholy, sower against sower, salt to remove salt humours.

It should be noted, however, that on the title page of the drama we find *κάθαρσις* translated as 'lustratio,' indicating that Milton fell in with the prevailing religious interpretation of purification:

Aristot. Poet. Cap. 6. *Τραγωδία μιμήσις πράξεως σπουδαίας*, etc. *Tragoedia est imitatio actionis seriae*, etc. *Per misericordiam et metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem*.

There seems to be a confusion of the two theories, though the pathological interpretation is surely present.

Of the English critics and scholars in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries who concerned themselves with the Aristotelian *catharsis*, most held to the older conception;⁵ the

⁴ *Galateo, of Manners and Behaviours in Familiar Conversation*, ed. by Herbert J. Reid, 1892, p. 31.

⁵ Dryden, *Dedication of the Aeneis* (1697), in *Essays*, ed. by Ker, Oxford, 1900, 2. 158: 'To raise, and afterwards to calm the passions—to purge the soul from pride by the examples of human miseries which befall the greatest—in few words, to expel arrogance, and introduce compassion, are the great effects of tragedy.'

influence of the moralizing French critics, particularly Rapin, Dacier, and Le Bossu, was too strong to allow any thing radically different from the didactic view. Milton's venture upon the pathological interpretation seems to have attracted little notice. Yet it did not escape attention. Joseph Trapp (1679-1747), poet, scholar, and pamphleteer, was at least one individual who kept alive the theory touched upon by the author of *Samson Agonistes*.

Trapp was the first professor of poetry at Oxford, and a literary critic of no mean ability. His lectures in Latin were published at Oxford under the title of *Praelectiones Poeticae*, three volumes, the first in 1711, the second in 1715, and the third in 1719. An English translation was published at London in 1742, done by William Clarke and William Bowyer.⁶ Trapp's Aristotelianism is largely drawn from Vossius and Dacier, but he is well-acquainted with the Greek original, and often ventures to contradict the commentators. Yet he is a Horatian at heart, a firm believer in the *prodesse* of poetry. So his devotion to Horace, with his admiration for the didactic criticisms of Le Bossu and Rapin, proves too much for his genuine desire to follow Aristotle. Thus he sees fit to revise Aristotle's conception of poetry so as to include the 'im-

John Dennis emphasized the religious element in the drama. There is a suggestion of the medical theory in his *Impartial Critick* (cf. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1908, 3. 184-5), where he is following a note of Dacier, but Dennis was a staunch supporter of *purification*. In his *Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry*, London, 1701, p. 67, he writes: 'Terror and compassion, which are the reigning passions in Tragedy, are heightened by religion.'

Charles Gildon takes his definition of Tragedy word for word from a current English translation of Dacier's version of the *Poetics*. 'According to the rules of Aristotle, a Tragedy is the imitation of an allegorical and universal action, which, by the means of terror and compassion, moderates and corrects our inclinations.'—*The Complete Art of Poetry* (1717), in *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Durham, New Haven, 1915, p. 68. Cf. Dacier's Preface, in *Aristotle's Art of Poetry*, London, 1705.

For Addison's discussion of the tragic emotions see *Spectator*, Nos. 40, 42, 418.

⁶ Clarke writes to Bowyer that he finds Trapp's lectures very exasperating at times. He has been particularly perplexed over Aristotle's definition of Tragedy. See Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* 2. 148-50.

provement of mankind' as well as pleasure.⁷ Nevertheless his interpretation of the important catharsis clause is worth noting; it is by no means free from the conception of purification, yet the medical theory is also vigorously upheld.

Trapp's special discussion of the tragic *catharsis* comes in the twenty-eighth lecture. He proposes to show how Tragedy purges the mind of the passions of pity and terror; why we delight in tragic representations; why the mind is refreshed by that which grieves it—that is, by pity and terror.⁸ Trapp's view is essentially that of Milton. The passions are purged⁹ by being agitated, just as the 'humours' of the human body are, often by medicines of the same nature: acids by acids, bitter by bitter. Therefore the passions are purged by means of themselves: terror by terror, pity by pity, and the other passions by these two, terror and pity. By subjecting ourselves to dramatic representations of horrible and miserable things we grow more familiar with them, and so our minds are relieved of these perturbations. Trapp admittedly follows Vossius,¹⁰ and evidently he also has Dacier's note¹¹ in mind. His analogy with the pathological, or medical, functions, however,

⁷ Trapp, *Praelectiones Poeticae* l. 17: 'Ars quicquid est, vel mente comprehendendi potest, metricis numeris imitans vel illustrans; voluptatis hominum, atque utilitatis gratia.'

⁸ *Ibid.* 3. 90-1: Reliquum est igitur, ut ostendatur qua ratione Tragedia purgat passiones; idque easdem commovendo; quod contrarium potius effectum videtur promittere: Insuper, ut indicetur, quisnam sit fons et origo delectationis Tragicæ; sive quibus de causis, ex intimis naturæ penetralibus eruendis, mens humana recreetur eo ipso quod doleat, et ex misericordia, ac terrore voluptatem percipiat.

⁹ *Ibid.* 3. 91-2: Purgandi sunt itaque Affectus, eo ipso quod commoveantur? Maxime: Et quid obstat quo minus? Bilis, et Pituita, alique humores in corpore humano eximi nequeunt, nisi fluctuent et moveantur. Imo sæpenumero expurgatur humor, ejusdem naturæ ac temperiei medicina adhibita; acidus acido, amaro amarus; ac perinde de aliis. Ex Affectibus igitur quidam purgantur per seipsos; Terror scilicet, ac Misericordia: Cæteri per duos istos quos jam nominavimus. Terror inquam, et Misericordia, per seipsos: quia Representatio dramatica res horrendas atque miserabiles assuefacit nobis; ac notas et familiares, adeoque minus horrendas et miserabiles, reddit. 'Per hæc (inquit Vossius) dicitur Tragedia *καθαίρει τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν*, purgare, ac levare animum ab hujusmodi perturbationibus.'

¹⁰ Cf. Vossius, *Institutionum Poeticarum Libri Tres*, Book 2, ch. 13.

¹¹ Cf. Dacier, *Aristotle's Art of Poetry*, p. 80: 'Tragedy is a true medi-

is much better sustained than the accounts in either Vossius or Dacier.

For a fuller treatment of the subject Trapp refers his reader to his forth-coming English translation of Virgil. Let us turn, then, to that work, *The Works of Virgil translated into English Blank Verse with Large Explanatory Notes and Critical Observations*, 3 volumes, London, 1731. The first volume appeared in 1718, the second in 1720. In his introductory essay to the fourth book of the *Aeneid* he writes at length on the 'nature and art of moving the passions in Tragedy and Epic Poetry, the usefulness of it, and the causes of the pleasure arising from terrour and pity.' He refers in a footnote¹² to the preface to *Samson Agonistes*, thereby acknowledging the debt he obviously owes to Milton in the lectures as well. Several kinds of poetry, though especially Tragedy, excite all the passions, more particularly the passions of pity and terror:¹³

If it be enquired to what good purpose, then, do they thus excite the passions, I answer, to regulate them, or, as Aristotle expresses it, to purge them. But can they be regulated by being roused, and cooled by being inflamed? Yes, why not? A medicine intended to purge the body must set the humours afloat in order to discharge them, and nothing is more common than to throw a patient into one sort of fever to cure him of another. Nay, very often an ill humour is worked off by a medicine of the same kind with itself—bitter with bitter, acid with acid, and so in other instances. Terrour and pity (meaning the excess of them, for the passions in themselves are good, and are only to be rectified, not extirpated) are by these means corrected; because things frightful and pitiable are rendered familiar to us by fiction. Those passions spend themselves in a great measure upon imaginary objects, and so they will be the less intense and ungovernable, and the mind less likely to be either broken or too much softened whenever it is forced to encounter real ones. In these senses, therefore, a passion by its rapidity may cleanse and clarify, as well as weaken and reduce itself; as a high wind, which is air violently agitated, may dissipate noxious vapours in the air itself, which would otherwise stagnate and breed nourishment for fevers and plagues.

Not only terror and pity are purged, but all other passions as well—

cine which purges the passions, since it teaches the ambitious to moderate his ambition, the wicked to fear God, the passionate to restrain his anger, etc.; but 'tis a very agreeable medicine, and works only by pleasure.' The ethical and didactic tone of Dacier is marked even here.

¹² Trapp, *Works of Virgil* 2. 191.

¹³ *Ibid.* 2. 191-2.

violent love, revenge, anger, envy, ambition, and the like.¹⁴ To this end Tragedy, above all species of poetry, is best adapted. The nearest to it in efficacy is the Epic.

One of Bywater's arguments against regarding the theatre as a school, and the tragic poet as a teacher of morality, is that the performance of Tragedy in ancient Greece was 'too occasional to have a marked and abiding effect on the moral character of the hearers.'¹⁵ From our foregoing quotations it is clear that Trapp, true to his training, did think of the tragic poet as a teacher of morality, and that it is familiarity with tragic scenes that brings about the tragic purgation. Yet he seems to have anticipated Bywater's argument:¹⁶

The agitation of his mind soon rests and subsides: the least diversion of ideas reduces it to its usual temper—*hi motus animorum*, etc. *Pulveris exigui jactu*, etc. And then come the good effects above-mentioned upon cool thought and reflection. The organical part of the mind (if I may so speak) is only played upon, as an instrument, and the motion soon ceases after the artist discontinues his performance.

There is no doubt that Trapp was a moralizer and a firm believer in the didactic aim of poetry. As a student of the French Aristotelian commentators and critics he could hardly have been otherwise. His conception of the tragic *catharsis*, therefore, was bound to be colored by the prevailing moral tone of his generation. Perhaps, if he had been pressed to remark on the point, he would have preferred the meaning of 'cleansing' and 'clarifying.' On the other hand, a pathological interpretation was also in his mind, more marked in his case than the mere suggestions in Vossius and Dacier, more marked even than the famous passage in Milton. Trapp confused the two conceptions, it is true, as indeed many a critic before him had done, but few men before the nineteenth century have offered a more pronounced support of the 'modern' theory. In Trapp's day the time had not yet come for a sharp differentiation of the two views. It is to Weil, Bernays, Bywater, and Aristotelian scholars of the present day that we owe our clear distinctions.

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¹⁴ Here Trapp contradicts Aristotle, who maintains that pity and fear are the only emotions producing the true tragic pleasure. Cf. *Poetics*, 14. 1453^b9-14. ¹⁵ Bywater, p. 161. ¹⁶ Trapp, *Works of Virgil* 2. 192-3.

ALBERT GLATIGNY: A STUDY IN LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS

BY AARON SCHAFER

The life of Albert Glatigny, the poet-actor whom Catulle Mendès has styled "le premier des Parnassiens,"¹ has been the subject of a somewhat shoddy biography by E. Kuhn, writing under the pseudonym of Job-Lazare, and of much legendizing on the part of Mendès.² By far the most flagrant error of which Job-Lazare has been guilty is to be found in his dating of the poet's birth.³ This error was rectified by Anatole France⁴ in a biographical sketch which drew largely upon Job-Lazare for its facts. Much light, however, still remains to be thrown upon certain phases of Glatigny's career which his biographers have left either entirely untouched or shrouded in obscurity. Such, for example, is the period of his peregrinations as a strolling actor, his "Roman comique," as he himself styles it.⁵ The purpose of this study is to discuss two matters of vital importance in Glatigny's career which his biographers have left untouched.

It is known that Glatigny, born in the Norman town of Lillebonne in 1839, fled from the printer's shop where he was serving an apprenticeship to become, at the age of only seventeen, *souffleur* to a troupe of strolling actors. It was at about this time that he heard the call of the Muses, although the sources differ as to the

¹ *La Légende du Parnasse contemporain*, Brussels, Brancart, 1884. The first of the four *conférences* comprising this volume is largely devoted to Glatigny.

² Cf. the paragraph on Glatigny in Mendès' *Rapport sur le mouvement poétique français de 1867 à 1900*, Paris, Fasquelle, 1903, p. 121; his poem, *Pour Albert Glatigny, Poésies nouvelles*, Paris, Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1892; and especially his *Glatigny: Drame funambulesque en vers mêlé de chansons et de danses*, first produced at the Odéon, March 17, 1906, and published by Charpentier and Fasquelle in the same year.

³ *Albert Glatigny, sa vie, son oeuvre*, Paris, Bécus, 1878, p. 31.

⁴ Notice to the one-volume edition of Glatigny's *Poésies complètes*, Paris, Lemerre, 1879. See also *la Vie littéraire*, iv, 307-17, Paris, Lévy, 1900.

⁵ *Gilles et pasquins, Poésies complètes*, p. 309. Cf. L. Labat, *Albert Glatigny: Six mois de bohème, Nouvelle revue*, LX, 568-79. This is an account of Glatigny's six-months sojourn in Bayonne, as member of the Hermant theatrical troupe, and contains many important documents.

instrument on which this call was sounded. Anatole France tells us that Glatigny had come fortuitously upon a volume of Ronsard in the attic of his father's house, had read it through eagerly, and had seen himself crowned with the aura of the poet.⁶ Certain it is that Ronsard was one of Glatigny's guardian angels; in *A Ronsard*,⁷ he speaks of him as "notre vieux maître," and in *Paresse*⁸ he is "mon doux Ronsard." Job-Lazare, however, makes no mention of this Ronsard "find"; according to him, Glatigny during a visit to Alençon with the theatrical troupe of which he was a member, happened upon a copy of Banville's *Odes funambulesques*, and was so profoundly impressed by it that he wrote a poem in honor of Banville which he sent to Poulet-Malassis, then editing the *Journal d'Alençon*. It is very unlikely that it was the *Odes funambulesques* which awakened Glatigny's poetic genius, since the latter's first collection of verse, *les Vignes folles*, was published only a short time after the appearance of Banville's volume, in 1857. Mendès' version is that during his theatrical pilgrimage Glatigny bought a copy of Banville's *Stalactites*, and was so dazzled by it that he was seized with the desire to acquaint himself with the masters of the world's poetry, a desire that led him to purchase a volume of Ronsard and to study Latin in order to read Vergil. In all probability, therefore, Glatigny's Ronsard story is to be credited; but it is also certain that he had fallen under the spell of Banville before he had taken many steps along the road to Parnassus.

That Glatigny was a disciple, perhaps the most brilliant disciple, of Banville is a commonplace among students of nineteenth century French poetry; his *Vignes folles* was dedicated "à mon cher et bien-aimé maître, Théodore de Banville," and his *Gilles et pasquins*⁹ are patterned directly upon the *Odes funambulesques*. The influence of Banville is ubiquitous in the poetry of Glatigny. In *le Château romantique*,¹⁰ dedicated to Banville, Glatigny exclaims:

⁶ In a foot-note to p. x of his *Notice*, France says that he was told this by Hérédia, who had it from Glatigny.

⁷ *Les Vignes folles, Poésies complètes*, p. 12.

⁸ *Les Flèches d'or, Poésies complètes*, p. 114.

⁹ Paris, Lemerre, 1871.

¹⁰ *Les Flèches d'or, Poésies complètes*, p. 212.

Entré, cette saison dernière,
 Dans le grand château, j'ai suivi
 Fidèlement votre bannière,
 Cher maître, et je vous ai servi.

And he goes on to declare: "Votre vie a guidé ma vie, Partout où vous alliez, j'allais." An amusing proof of Glatigny's "Banvillolatrie" is to be found in an incident related by Job-Lazare, according to which the actor-poet, during a stay in Belgium, engaged in a duel with one Albert Wolf because the latter had made some slurring remarks regarding Banville. It may not be beside the mark for us to see what Banville himself has to say about the accident which revealed to Glatigny his poetic vocation. In a passage from his *Anthologie des poètes français du XIXe siècle*, quoted by Mendès, he says:¹¹ "Cependant, comme les hasards arrivent toujours, les pérégrinations du comédien errant l'amènèrent à Alençon où Malassis, l'éditeur artiste qui à ce moment-là n'habitait pas encore Paris, lui donna un recueil de vers quelconque d'un poète contemporain. Chose inouïe et vraiment prodigieuse! après avoir dévoré, relu ce livre, par lequel il avait eu la révélation du vrai langage qu'il était destiné à parler, Glatigny fut du coup, immédiatement et tout de suite, l'admirable rimeur, l'étonnant forger de rythmes, l'ouvrier excellent victorieux de toutes les difficultés, l'ingénieur et subtil artiste . . ." Throughout Mendès' *Drame funambulesque*, the spirit of Banville hovers just above the stage, and one of the personages thinks to insult Glatigny by scornfully calling him "Banville," and by continuing: "Oui, jusqu'au jour d'aujourd'hui, As-tu fait un seul vers qui ne soit pas de lui?"¹² Glatigny himself makes a straightforward admission of his discipleship to Banville in the following strophe:¹³

O mes vers! on dira que j'imité Banville;
 On aura bien raison si l'on ajoute encor
 Que je l'ai copié d'une façon servile,
 Que j'ai perdu l'haleine à souffler dans son cor.

The second point of interest in Glatigny's life that has not been

¹¹ In the *Dictionnaire bibliographique et critique* which serves as an appendix to the *Rapport sur le mouvement poétique*, p. 113.

¹² Spoken by Jean Morvieux in Act III.

¹³ *Gilles et Pasquins: Epilogue, Poésies complètes*, p. 351.

clarified by his biographers is his connection with *le Parnasse contemporain*, an episode which, perhaps better than anything else in his life, reveals the paradoxical irony which constantly dogged his steps. According to the account given by Mendès in the first *conférence* of his *Légende*, Glatigny, during the course of his theatrical Odyssey, had met at Alençon Poulet-Malassis and Charles Asselineau, who, upon reading some of his verses, had advised him to try fortune in Paris. In the capital, Glatigny had had himself presented to Banville, Monselet, Jean du Boys, Charles Bataille, and others. From all he received encouragement, and it was with the help of Bataille that he published, in 1857, his *Vignes folles*. Two or three years later, when Catulle Mendès, *aetas* 19, arrived in Paris, with his pockets full of money and his head full of schemes for attaining literary glory, to found *la Revue fantaisiste*, Glatigny went to him, was immediately recognized as a genius, and became an *habitué* of the *bureau* of the new review. Mendès asserts that the group of poets usually referred to as the *Parnassiens* was also occasionally styled *les Impassibles*, a name derived from Glatigny's poem, *l'Impassible*.¹⁴ This statement, however, is open to justifiable doubt; for, in the first place, Mendès declares that Glatigny had dedicated this poem to Gautier, whereas it is actually inscribed to Baudelaire; and, in the second place, the *Parnasse contemporain* for 1869 contains a sonnet by Gautier called *l'Impassible*¹⁵ (whence, probably, the confusion in Mendès' mind). Moreover, the poem of Glatigny is of too specific a connotation to have justified the application of its name to an entire group of poets, while the term *impassible* had come to be regarded as synonymous with Leconte de Lisle long before 1866,¹⁶ and might readily have been transferred from the great poet who was the unquestioned guide of the younger Parnassiens to the group itself. But whether or not Glatigny was responsible for the Parnassiens' having been dubbed *les Impassibles*, it is an amazing fact that Mendès, when he and Louis-Xavier de

¹⁴ *Les Vignes folles, Poésies complètes*, p. 43.

¹⁵ Written at Chamarande, July, 1866 (*Poésies complètes*, Paris, Charpentier, 1884, vol. II, p. 240).

¹⁶ The date of the publication, by Lemerre, of the first *Parnasse contemporain: Recueil de vers nouveaux*; two additional *recueils*, bearing the same title, were issued by Lemerre in 1869 and 1876, respectively.

Ricard undertook to edit the periodical which they called *le Parnasse contemporain*, did not publish a single verse by Glatigny, notwithstanding his exalted opinion of that poet. Moreover, it is noteworthy that Job-Lazare nowhere mentions Mendès or *la Revue fantaisiste* and that he takes only passing notice of *le Parnasse contemporain*, in connection with Glatigny's *Ballade des enfants sans souci*, and that, furthermore, Anatole France, himself a contributor to two of the three collections of *le Parnasse contemporain*, makes no reference to Glatigny's supposed friendship with Mendès or to his contributions to the two "journaux parnassiens" edited by that worthy. Most striking of all, however, is the fact that in the three fairly bulky tomes of *le Parnasse contemporain*, "recueils de vers nouveaux" which printed, together with representative verses of the principal poets of the day, the efforts of numerous poetasters whose names have since been completely forgotten, Glatigny is represented in only the second (in the editing of which Mendès' functions had been taken over in large measure by Banville) and there by a group of only four comparatively short poems.¹⁷ If we are not, then, to discard Mendès' entire account of his sponsoring of Glatigny,¹⁸ we must conclude either that he did not retain his admiration for the famished, scantily-clad poet who had so adorned the *bureau* of *la Revue fantaisiste* or that Glatigny's numerous and lengthy enforced absences from Paris caused him to be speedily forgotten by those who had previously pretended so keen an interest in his work. Be that as it may, the facts herein related will suffice to indicate that Glatigny was none too fortunate in his biographers, and that a definitive and scholarly account of his life remains to be written.

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¹⁷ *Ballade des enfants sans souci*, not included in any of Glatigny's three published collections of verse; *A un poète* (printed in *Gilles et pasquins* under the title of *A Sully Prudhomme*); *A Cosette*; and *A Alexandre de Bernay* (these last two also to be found in *Gilles et pasquins*).

¹⁸ Remy de Gourmont has called Glatigny "le pivot du Parnasse" (*Promenades littéraires*, 5e série, 4th edition, Paris, *Mercur de France*, 1913, p. 47). Brunetière, on the other hand, holds up to ridicule Mendès' statement that his first meeting with Glatigny in Paris marks the date of the birth of the *Parnasse* (*Histoire et littérature*, vol. II, Paris, Lévy, 1885, p. 208).

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

TWO NOTES ON BLAKE

I

In Ellis and Yeats' *Poetical Works of William Blake*, occurs the following somewhat confusing passage:

The Eternal Man sleeps in the earth,
nor feels the glorious sun
Nor silent moon, nor all the hosts
of heaven move in his body.

Vala, VIII, 500-501.

Remembering the important part played by mysticism in Blake's poetry, we should naturally look to the writings of other mystics for light on these lines, seemingly so little in harmony with biology or psychology. In *The Sense of the Infinite*, by L. O. Kuhns (p. 193) we find the following paragraph:

To Paracelsus, philosophy was the living mirror in which the world sees and understands its own image; it rests upon the harmony of the macrocosm and the microcosm: "And so the philosopher finds naught else in heaven or earth, but what he finds in man; nor finds aught in man, but what the heavens and earth themselves possess." As Emerson long afterward said, "What matters whether Orion is up yonder, or whether some God has hung it in the firmament of my brain," so Paracelsus cries out: "A man who knows the sun and the moon when his eyes are closed, he has the sun and moon in himself, such as they shine in the firmament of heaven."

II

In describing the slow creation of Urizen (the spirit of intellect) through successive "ages" and states "of dismal woe" Blake pictures as follows the first appearance of Urizen's gigantic spine:

In a horrible, dreamful slumber,
Like the linked infernal chain,
A vast Spine writh'd in torment
Upon the winds, shooting pain'd
Ribs, like a bending cavern.¹

¹ *The Book of Urizen*, Chap. IV, stanza 6.

A vision curiously like this seems to have occurred to the New England transcendentalist and mystic, A. Bronson Alcott, a few years after Blake's death. In Mr. Harris's words:

I think Mr. Alcott has not preserved in written form the insights which he had at the time of his illumination. As he intimated to me, that period was one of such long-continued exaltation that his bodily strength gave way under it; and his visions of truth came to have mingled with them spectres which he perceived to be due to physical exhaustion. He saw the entire world as one vast spinal column. . . . He told me that when he had become almost deranged in his mind through this long-continued period of exaltation and insight into the spine as the type of all nature, and when he had begun to see spectres, his wife "packed him up and sent him down to visit Mr. Emerson." I therefore conceive this insight into the symbolic significance of the spine to be directly connected with his studies in Swedenborg.²

It is highly improbable that Alcott was influenced by Blake, who was, at that time, perhaps, the least read author in English history. Both may have owed some common debt to Swedenborg, only part of whose works I have read; but no such debt on Blake's part is mentioned in Mr. Damon's very thorough commentary. More probably the likeness is due to related psychological experiences such as frequently come to mystics who have never heard of each other.

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THE CRUX IN THE *PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE*

Dr. Magoun's article on *lof and grin* of the year 1137 in the *Peterborough Chronicle* is interesting as coming nearer a solution of the crux than any other yet proposed. Perhaps it is right to say that I had myself marked *lōf* in my *Toller-Bosworth* as having possible relation to the *Chronicle* passage, but had not been persuaded that it satisfied all requirements. Taking up the matter again in the light of this new note, I think Dr. Magoun's position may be considerably strengthened at least.

To begin with, Latin *redimiculum*, of which *lōf* is one of the

² Quoted from *Studies in New England Transcendentalism* by H. C. Goddard, pp. 129-130.

glosses, though properly or more commonly meaning 'a band or fillet,' is also defined as 'necklace,' a meaning quite in keeping with its relation to *redimio* 'to bind round, encircle.' The word is also once used by Plautus (*Truc.* II, iv, 41, Lewis and Short, II, iv, 241) in immediate combination with *laqueus* as 'bond, fetter,' a meaning extended from that of 'ribbon used to tie the head-band or turban (*mitra*),' under the chin.¹ In the same way *mitra* 'head-band' came to be used in late Latin (*Tert. Carm. de Jona et Nineva* 42) for 'rope.'

Further than this, *redimicula* of the Gloss of Aldhelm (Napier, *OE. Glosses* 5241) is paralleled by OE. *wrædas*, *cynewiððan*, as well as *lōfas*. Now OE. *wræd*, the first word, means not only 'band, fillet,' but is glossed in its genitive plural as *fasciarum*, *vinculorum*, the latter implying a much stronger meaning as 'fetters, chains.'² In the fourth of the Exeter Riddles, too, *wræde* is united with *bende and clomme* 'band and chain or fetter.' If *wræd* had such stronger use, there is no reason to think *lōf* may not also have acquired a stronger than its original meaning.

Enough has been said to show that I would strengthen Dr. Magoun's interpretation by assuming for *lōf*, not 'fillet' or head-band' with reference to the *cnotted strenges* a little before, but 'necklace, circlet for the neck, neck-band, fetter,' which is immediately described in the *Chronicle* with such detail. There may have been some grim humor in calling the unusual instrument of torture *lōf and grin* 'a necklace and snare,' or the first word may have been actually extended to 'neck-bond' as I have implied above. At any rate we are clearly told that the *lōf and grin* were 'chain fetters' (*rachentēges*, itself a tautological compound for emphasis) of an unusually heavy sort. They were placed *abūton þe mannes throte and his hals*, a clear 'neck-band' rather than a 'head-band' as Dr. Magoun suggests. The neck-band was then *fæstned to an bēom* above, by a chain no doubt, making movement of any considerable sort impossible.

¹ See note to H. T. Riley's *Comedies of Plautus* II, 227, there to *Truc.* I, vi, and an unnumbered line.

² Napier gives only *fasciarum*, *wræda*, but Toller-Bosworth has both *fasciarum* and *vinculorum*, and Haupt (*Zeitschrift* IX, 488, 48) has clearly "*fasciarum* (gl. *vinculorum*), *wræda*."

To the suggestion of Dr. Magoun that *lōf* and *grin* are both plural neuters, I would point out that such an interpretation of the forms is improbable. The whole tendency of early Midland, as shown by the nouns of the *Peterborough Chronicle* passage from 1132 to 1154 inclusive, as in other early Midland writers, was for original neuters and feminines to appear in masculine forms, that is to assume the original masculine inflection. Thus in these entries—all in the hand of the last continuator—not only do all original masculine plurals have the *-es* ending, but all original feminines and five of the nine original neuters appear with the same inflectional form, only four original neuters having plurals without ending. If, therefore, *lōf* and *grin* had been intended as individual plurals, the first would have undoubtedly retained its masculine ending as *lōfes*, and the second would have more probably appeared in a similar form, *grines*.

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JULIUS CAESAR AND OVID

Although Shakespeare was indebted to North's Plutarch for the account of the portents seen the night before the assassination of Julius Caesar, there seem to be some elements in Shakespeare's description which are related to Ovid's account of the change of Caesar into a star (Book XV, *Metamorphoses*). In support of this suggestion (which, I think, has not before been noted) I have ventured an arrangement of quotations from *Julius Caesar* to parallel a quotation from Ovid. Riley's translation (Bohn Library) has been used as a sufficiently neutral rendering.

Ovid

Venus—moved the Gods above. Although they were not able to frustrate the iron decrees of the aged sisters, yet they afforded no unerring tokens of approaching woe. They say, that arms resounding amid the black clouds, and dreadful blasts of the trumpet, and clarions heard through the heavens, forwarned men of the crime. The sad face of the sun gave a livid light to the alarmed earth. Often did torches seem to be burning in the midst of the stars; often did drops of blood fall in the showers. The azure-colored Lucifer had his light tinted with a dark iron

color, the chariot of the moon was besprinkled with blood. The Stygian owl gave omens of ill in a thousand places; in a thousand places did the ivory statues shed tears; dirges, too, are said to have been heard, and threatening expressions in the sacred groves. No victim gave an omen of good; the entrails, too, showed that great tumults were imminent—They say, too, that in the Forum, and around the houses and the temples of the Gods, the dogs were howling by night, and that the ghosts of the departed were walking, and that the city was shaken by earthquakes. But still the warnings of the Gods could not avert treachery and the approach of Fate. . . .

Jove (said to Venus), "change this soul, snatched from the murdered body, into a beam of light, that eternally the Deified Julius may look down from his lofty abode upon our Capitol and Forum." . . . Venus snatched the soul, just liberated from the body, away from the limbs of her own Caesar, and, not suffering it to dissolve in air, she bore it amid the stars of heaven. And as she bore it, she perceived it assume a train of light and become inflamed; . . . Above the moon it takes its flight, and, as a star, it glitters, carrying a flaming train with a lengthened track."

Julius Caesar (Tudor Edition)

Either there is civil strife in heaven (I, 3, 11).

When the most mighty gods by tokens send
Such dreadful heralds to astonish us (I, 3, 55, 6).

Who ever knew the heavens menace so? (I, 3, 44).

Fierce fiery warriors fight upon the clouds,
In ranks and squadrons and right form of war,
Which drizzl'd blood upon the Capitol;
The noise of battle hurtled in the air (II, 2, 19-22).

And the complexion of the element
In favour's like the work we have in hand,
Most bloody, fiery, and most terrible. (I, 3, 128-130).

And yesterday the bird of night did sit
Even at noon-day upon the market-place,
Hooting and shrieking. . . .
For, I believe, they are portentous things
Unto the climate that they point upon. (I, 3, 26-28, 31-2).

She dreamt to-night she saw my statuë,
Which, like a fountain with an hundred spouts,
Did run pure blood (II, 2, 76-78).

What say the augurers?
They would not have you to stir forth to-day,
Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, . . . (II, 2, 37-39).

Horses did neigh, and dying men did groan,
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets. (II, 2, 23-5).
Why all these fires, why all these gliding ghosts (I, 3, 63).

Heaven hath infus'd them with these spirits,
To make them instruments of fear and warning
Unto some monstrous state. (I, 3, 69-71).

Are not you mov'd when all the sway of earth
Shakes like a thing unfirm? (I, 3, 3-4).

But I am constant as the northern star,
Of whose true-fix'd and resting quality
There is no fellow in the firmament.
The skies are painted with unnumb'ed sparks,
They are all fire and every one doth shine.
But there's but one in all doth hold his place (III, 1, 60-5).

The exhalations whizzing in the air
Give so much light. . . . (II, 1, 44-5).

When beggars die there are no comets seen;
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.

(II, 2, 30-1)

In fairness, passages from North's Plutarch should be quoted: "Considering the strange and wonderful signs that were said to be seen before Caesar's death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirits running up and down in the night, and also solitary birds to be seen at noondays sitting in the great market-place." From Plutarch came "men going up and down in fire," "a slave that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand," "the (sacrificed) beast without a heart." Calpurnia dreamed that she saw a "certain pinnacle" "broken down." The soothsayers, having sacrificed many beasts . . . told him that none did like them." After the murder: "the great comet, which seven nights together was seen every night after Caesar's death."

The conclusion appears to be that Shakespeare supplemented Plutarch's Caesar by Ovid's *Metamorphosis* of Caesar, perhaps remembering this from his earlier reading, or else looking up the passage as a possible authority. The resemblances may be exaggerated by this method of citation, but it seems evident that Ovid may have suggested the *sounds* heard, the *drizzl'd blood*, the reference to the *statue*, rather than the *pinnacle*, as a portent, the *earthquake*, and the imagery of the *star*.

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SCOTT, MANZONI, ROVANI

It is well known that Manzoni borrowed the idea of the historical novel from Walter Scott, who, in turn, imitated the *Promessi Sposi* (1827) in his *Fair Maid of Perth*¹ (1828). Several scholars have studied the relationship between Manzoni and Walter Scott.² Perhaps the one who has done so most effectively is Maria Dotti, *Delle Derivazioni nei Promessi Sposi di Alessandro Manzoni dai romanzi di Walter Scott*, Pisa, Mariotti, 1900. After a careful examination of all possible derivations she comes to the conclusion that there are very few cases indeed of probable derivation, and almost none of verbal imitation, because, first of all, Manzoni was a genius of such caliber as not to need to borrow, and, in the second place because, though utterly familiar with Scott's materials and methods, he purposely refrained from copying either.

Given this situation, it is all the more peculiar to note an exact verbal parallel between these two novelists. In fact, in Chapter XIV of *Pevevil of the Peak* (1822)³ we find the following sentence:

Flashes of enthusiasm, too, shot along his conversation, gleaming like the sheet-lightning of an autumn eve, which throws a strong, though momentary, illumination across the sober twilight, and all the surrounding objects, which, touched by it, assume a wilder and more striking character.

There seems to be an echo of this sentence in the first chapter of the *Promessi Sposi* where the author remarks:⁴

questo nome fu, nella mente di Don Abbondio, come, nel forte d'un tem-

¹ This was brought out by Francesco Torraca in his *Discussioni e ricerche letterarie*, Livorno, Vigo, 1888.

² Carducci suggested this study in his *Bozzetti e scherne*. See also Borgognoni in *La domenica letteraria*, anno V, no. 3; F. D'Ovidio, *Appunti per un parallelo fra Manzoni e Walter Scott*, in *Discussioni manzoniane*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1886; P. Tedeschi, in *Natura ed arte*, May 1, 1897; G. Burgada, *Il Talismano di W. Scott e i Promessi Sposi*, in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, XXII (1900); G. Agnoli, *Gli albori del romanzo storico in Italia e i primi imitatori di Walter Scott*, Piacenza, Favari, 1906; the work by Torraca, mentioned in note 1, etc.

³ In the edition of 1822, published by Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh, in four volumes, this passage occurs on p. 39 of Vol. II.

⁴ Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi*, edited by J. Geddes and E. H. Wilkins, New York, Heath, 1911, p. 8. For this parallel I am indebted to Professor Wilkins.

porale notturno, un lampo che illumina momentaneamente e in confuso gli oggetti, e accresce il terrore.

So far as we have been able to ascertain, this parallel, which seems unquestionably a direct even if unintentional derivation, has not been pointed out.

The echo of this sentence, however, does not end with Manzoni, who, as we all know, had innumerable imitators, none of whom had his genius or, perhaps, his literary scruples. Giuseppe Rovani, who wrote in 1859-1860 his "romanzo ciclico" *I Cento anni*, in talking of one of his rogues says:⁵

Quel nome del lacchè Galantino fu per il marchese Recalcati come uno di quei lampi che, soleggiando di tratto il fitto bujo, lasciano vedere la posizione degli oggetti circostanti, tanto che uno che abbia smarrita la via, si raccapezza, ed esclama: Ora comprendo per qual parte si dee camminare.

In the Scott-Manzoni parallel we might note that the simile between a psychological state and a mood of nature is just the kind that Manzoni liked and developed superbly in his masterpiece. In the Manzoni-Rovani parallel there is more than verbal similarity (throughout his work Rovani's phraseology frequently imitates the sonorous simplicity of Manzoni), for there is even a parallelism of situation. In fact, in both cases these sentences refer to the sudden, flashlike enlightenment that comes upon a good man (Don Abbondio in the *Promessi Sposi* and the Marchese in *I Cento anni*) at the mere mention of the name of a notorious rascal (Don Rodrigo, primary villain in Manzoni's masterpiece, and Suardi, called il Galantino, arch-impostor in Rovani's story).

The actual imitation of Manzoni by his followers in the Italian historical novel has not yet been thoroughly studied. Agnoli⁶ purposely omitted discussion of Manzoni and later Italian novelists. He even asserted, in his *Promessa*, that "l'imitazione pura Scottiana, in Italia, non va oltre il 1830"—a statement which seems hardly accurate, unless perhaps "pura" means direct, for it does not take into consideration, for instance, that Walter Scott may have been and doubtless was indirectly followed and imitated by Italian novelists through Manzoni, as in the case here presented.

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⁵ In Vol. I, p. 222, of the recent edition by the Istituto Editoriale Italiano, Vol. LXIX of the *Classici Italiani* edited by F. Martini.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

KING ÆLFRED'S INTERPRETATION OF EXODUS
XXII, 18

As is well known, King Ælfred incorporated in the preface to his code of laws extracts from the scriptures, viz. the Ten Commandments with the two chapters from Exodus following them and a passage from the Acts of the Apostles. It has been pointed out by M. H. Turk in his edition of the Ælfredian Laws published by Ginn & Co., Boston, 1893, pp. 36-37, that the royal author indulged not only in omissions, but also in augmentations and alterations of his biblical text; however, with the exception of one instance, these alterations are reasonable and do not do violence to the import of the Latin. This one instance is the apparent misrendering of Exodus XXII, 18, *Maleficos non patieris vivere* by *Ða fæmnan þe gewuniað onfôn gealdorcræftigan and scinlæcan 7 wiccan ne læt þu ða libban*. Turk sees in that rendering a mistake he calls *strange* because "it puts *quam virgines accipere consueverunt*, belonging to the preceding ordinance, but not translated with it, before *maleficos*, thus gaining the utterly different meaning of *þa fæmnan þe gewuniað onfôn gealdorcræftigan . . . ne læt þu ða libban*, a peculiar and very severe injunction." F. Liebermann in his monumental edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, vol. III, 37b, believes the change is deliberate and explains it from the general tendency of Germanic Law to foist on women the crime of witchcraft. It seems to me Turk's view is nearer the truth than Liebermann's. I differ from Turk only insofar as I charge the 'strange mistake' not to Ælfred but to carelessness of some copyist who inserted *þe*¹ after instead of BEFORE *þa fæmnan*. Ælfred's rendering, then, *Gif hwa fæmnan beswice unbeweddode hire mid-slæpe, forgielða hie 7 hæbbe hie siððan him to wife. Gif ðære fæmnan fæder hie ðonne sellan nelle, agife he ðæt feoh æfter þam weotuman þe ða fæmnan gewuniað onfôn. || Gealdorcræftigan 7 scinlæcan wiccan ne læt þu ða libban* is quite in accord with the scriptural text of Exodus XXII, 16-18, *Si seduxerit quis virginem nondum desponsatam dormieritque cum ea: dotabit eam, et habebit*

¹ Omitted by the scribe of his archetypus, but probably placed on the margin with a reference mark to the word before which it was to be inserted.

uxorem. Si pater virginis dare noluerit, reddet pecuniam iuxta modum dotis, quam virgines accipere consueverunt. || Maleficos non patieris vivere. Further proof of Ælfred not deviating here from his scriptural text is afforded by the agreement² of the Quadripartus translation with the Vulgate, dated 1114 by Liebermann.

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CORNELIUS AGRIPPA AND HENRY VAUGHAN

Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, soldier, physician, and reputed magician (1486-1535), is known to have exerted a profound influence upon Thomas Vaughan, Anglican clergyman and magician, the twin brother of the poet Henry Vaughan. Of Agrippa, Thomas Vaughan wrote, "He indeed is my author, and next to God I owe all that I have unto him,"¹ a statement that is substantiated by the many references in the works of Thomas to Agrippa's two most important books, *De Occulta Philosophia* and *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum et Artium atque Excellentia Verbi Dei Declamatio*.

No one, I believe, has hitherto called attention to Henry's apparent familiarity with the second of the above-mentioned works of Agrippa. To me it seems clear that Henry Vaughan's curious little poem entitled *The Ass* was inspired, in part at least, by Chapter 102 of *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences* (to use the title of an English translation of 1684, from which I shall quote). Agrippa's *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences*, written about 1527, attacks ninety-nine aspects of worldly learning in as many chapters, and then in Chapter 100 concludes that the real key to knowledge and wisdom "is nothing else but the Word of God." Agrippa's book is really a plea for the simple, childlike acceptance of the doctrines of the Bible, of inspired truth.

In Chapter 101 Agrippa writes as follows:

Neither is there any sort of men less fit to receive Christian doctrine, than they who have their mindes tainted with the knowledge of the

² Owing to *Si* preceding the scribe omitted *se-* of *seducerit*.

¹ *Works*, ed. Waite, 1919, p. 50.

Sciences: for they are so stiff and obstinate in their self-opinions, that they leave no place for the Holy Ghost, and do so assure themselves, and trust in their own strength and power, that they will allow of nothing else for truth; and they scorn and despise all those things which they cannot understand by their own Industry. Therefore hath Christ *hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to little children*; that is to say, to the poor in spirit, not enriched with the treasures of humane knowledge; to *the pure in heart*, not defil'd with the vanity of Opinions. . . . For this cause, Christ chose his Apostles not Scribes, not Doctors, not Priests, but unlearned persons of the vulgar people, void of knowledge, unskilful, and Asses.

Chapter 102 is entitled "A Digression in praise of the Ass." This chapter begins with the statement that, since some one might reproach him for calling the Apostles asses, it may be worth while "to discourse the Mysteries of the Ass." After discussing the traits of the ass and the veneration in which he has been held, he continues:

The Ass was consecrated by the touch of the body of Christ: for Christ ascending to *Jerusalem* in triumph for the Redemption of mankind, as it is recorded in the Gospel, rode upon an Ass; which was mysteriously foretold by the Oracle of *Zachary*. And we read that *Abraham* the Father of the Elect rode onely upon Asses. So that the Proverb commonly repeated among the Vulgar, is not spoken in vain, *That the Ass carries Mysteries*.² Wherefore I would hereby advertise the famous Professors of Sciences, that if the unprofitable burthen of Humane Knowledge be not laid aside, . . . whereby ye shall be turned into meer and bare Asses, that ye will be utterly and altogether unfit to carry the Mysteries of Divine wisdom.

The next chapter, entitled "The Conclusion of the Work," begins with the words "You therefore, O ye Asses, who are now with your children under the command of Christ," etc. These passages not only form a part of the climax of Agrippa's argument, but represent fairly the main idea his book was written to enforce, namely that the truth of religion is hidden from the wise and prudent, but revealed to little children.

Let us turn now to *Silex Scintillans*, Henry Vaughan's volume of religious verse. In Vaughan's poem *The Ass* occur these lines:

² *Asinus portat mysteria*. Brewer (*Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*) says: "A classical knock at the Roman clergy. The allusion is to the custom of employing asses to carry the cista which contained the sacred symbols, when processions were made through the streets."

Grant I may soft and lowly be,
 And mind those things I cannot see;
 Tie me to faith, though above reason;
 Who question Power, they speak treason:
 Let me, Thy ass, be only wise
 To carry, not search, mysteries.
 Who carries Thee, is by Thee led;
 Who argues, follows his own head.

And when—O God! the ass is free,
 In a state known to none but Thee,
 O let him by his Lord be led
 To living springs, and there be fed.

In his poem *Tears* Vaughan echoes the concluding thought of *The Ass*:

And when they all are fed, and have
 Drunk of Thy living stream,
 Bid Thy poor ass—with tears I crave!—
 Drink after them.

In *Palm-Sunday* Vaughan writes:

I will be still a child, still meek
 As the poor ass, which the proud jeer,
 And only my dear Jesus seek.

In these passages, the first of which appears to have been inspired directly by Agrippa, the traits of meekness and humility, the attitude of innocent and trusting childhood are lauded. Elsewhere in Vaughan's religious verse the beauty of childhood is of course emphasized, notably in *The Retreat* and in *Childhood*. In the latter poem Vaughan writes:

If seeing much should make staid eyes,
 And long experience should make wise;
 Since all that age doth teach is ill,
 Why should I not love childhood still?

Though Vaughan was not by nature a humble man, his poetry sets a high valuation on meekness, patience, and humility.

At the very least, it seems to me, my quotations from Agrippa point to the probable source of Vaughan's quaint use of the term *ass* as a synonym for the simple-minded Christian who is ready to accept the mysteries of religion without questioning. Is it unreasonable to go a step further and ask whether Cornelius Agrippa,

the spiritual teacher of Henry's twin brother, may not also have been the teacher, in some small measure, of Henry himself,³ leading him to value more than he might otherwise have done the trustful, lowly attitude of a little child?

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USE OF *DE* BEFORE *ENDROIT* IN OLD FRENCH

In his edition of *Le Lai de l'Ombre*, Paris, 1913, p. xi, Bédier says: "Pour notre part nous croyons fermement que les auteurs de l'*Escoufle*, de *Guillaume de Dôle* et du *Lai de l'Ombre* s'appellent tous trois Jean Renart." One of the passages cited in support of this statement is the following:

Cil bel mot plesant et poli
Le font en un penssé cheïr
D'endroit ce qu'ele veut oïr
Sa requeste, s'en ot pitié,
Quar ne tint a point de faintié
Les souspirs, les lermes qu'il pleure.

(*Le Lai de l'Ombre*, ll. 546-552).

In connection with the quotation just given, the editor says: "Cet emploi de *de* avant la préposition *endroit* a été rencontré par Godefroy¹ dans une charte datée de 1271. Mussafia en a trouvé dans *Guillaume de Dôle* un troisième exemple: *d'endroit* ceste chose (v. 2817). Personne, croyons nous, n'en a pas relevé un quatrième."

The purpose of this note is to call attention to four additional examples of *d'endroit*:

D'androit de vos le tieg je a folaje
Qui atendez part en mon eritage.

(*Les Narbonnais*, ed. by Hermann Suchier,
Paris, 1898, ll. 162-3).

³ As L. I. Guiney has pointed out, Henry Vaughan's allusion in his prose treatise *Man in Darkness* to "a great philosopher and secretary to nature" apparently refers to Cornelius Agrippa (cf. Martin's ed. of *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, I, 176, and note).

¹ Cum discorde fust entre . . . *d'androit* de la grange de Viel Moustier. (1271, *Compromis*, Lebeuf, *Prew. de l'Hist. d'Auverre*.)

Mès se des autres puet son cors delivrer,
D'endroit de vos le cuit bien aquiter.

(*Aymeri de Narbonne*, ed. by Louis Demaison,
 Paris, 1887, ll. 4052-3).

Se vous creés le droit conseil
D'endroit moi pour vous, vous conseil
 Que vous del tout le voeliés croire.

(Beaumanoir, *Salu d'Amours*, ll. 315-17,
Oeuvres Poétiques de Beaumanoir, II, ed. by
 Suchier, Paris, 1885).

D'endroit moi voel qu'il soit desfais.

(Beaumanoir, *op. cit.*, l. 383).

The examples cited above show that the construction under consideration was not as rare as Bédier has supposed. The fact that it occurs in *Le Lai de l'Ombre* and in *Guillaume de Dôle* is therefore of very slight value as an argument supporting the statement that both poems were written by the same author.

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A NOTE ON THE SPANISH OCTOSYLLABLE

My recent edition of the Spanish play *Ya anda la de Mazagatos* (*Bull. hisp.*, 1923-1924) received in the *Revista de filología española* (1924, XI, 321-323) a notice which was in many respects too indulgent. There are, however, a few points of versification brought up by the reviewer on which I must differ from him, and since they involve certain general principles, it appears worth while to note them here, as briefly as possible.

They all concern the Spanish octosyllabic line. Twice the reviewer speaks of a rhythmic accent on the fourth syllable, which permits hiatus before it. The lines, as he would read them, are:

v. 1470 ¡Qué Rica | es! A la trena

v. 1483 digo que | antes de aorcallo

Now, the text of this play is not so perfect that one might not simply say the lines are faulty, and let that suffice. But I do not like to let pass without a protest the theory that the octosylla-

ble has an internal rhythmic accent, like a hendecasyllable. A "rhythmic accent," what Benot calls a "sílabas constituyente," is an accent of fixed position in the line, or which shifts its place only in accordance with certain well-recognized laws.¹ The octosyllable has only one rhythmic accent, on syllable 7. In this statement all the treatises concur, from Díaz Rengifo, through Bello and Benot, down to the genial Bolivian iconoclast Jaimes Freyre; and my own study of this line in autograph mss. confirms the opinion.² It is possible that in the lines cited there may be hiati before a mere word-accent; such are found, tho they are quite exceptional. Let us not, however, invoke a "rhythmic accent" to explain them.³

Very similar is the statement that in v. 1481

un buen día, | e de aorcarte

(the scansion is the reviewer's) the hiatus is explained by "la pausa entre hemistiquios." It would be necessary first to prove that an octosyllable is divided into hemistichs like an alexandrine, a thing quite impossible, to my notion, for the reasons I have just given. The octosyllable has neither hemistichs nor internal rhythmic accent. The burden of proof is on the affirmative!⁴

¹ I am aware that the term "acento rítmico" is sometimes used in Spanish in the sense of what we call a simple "word-accent," and it is possible that that was what the reviewer intended. But, if so, the "acento tónico" is in itself no sufficient explanation of a preceding hiatus, whereas a real rhythmic accent is.

² I shall quote only the first and last of the important *tratadistas*. Díaz Rengifo, *Arte poética española*, 1644, cap. ix: "El verso de Redondilla mayor se compone de ocho sílabas; de las quales la séptima será siempre larga, y la octava breue," etc. "Y adviértase, que quando dezimos, que el verso puede llevar vna, ò dos, ò tres, ò quatro sílabas largas [besides the seventh], pueden ser qualesquiera de las seys."

Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, *Leyes de la versificación castellana*, 2d ed., La Paz, 1919, p. 31: "Este verso [the octosyllable] está compuesto de ocho sílabas; tienen acento la primera, la segunda y la séptima, pero el único necesario es el de la séptima; sin él no habría verso, y sí lo habría suprimiendo los demás o llevándolos a otras sílabas."

³ I recently made a study of the metrics of five autograph plays of Lope de Vega, and found a total of eighteen cases of hiatus in the combination atonic-tonic, where neither aspirate *h* nor rhythmic accent came into play. The entire investigation will, I trust, appear before long.

⁴ I am speaking in this article only of the common octosyllable which

The third and last point concerns the question of *enjambement* between lines—a question on which Professor Espinosa has announced an article in the *Romanic Review* that should illuminate the subject.⁵ The reviewer would by that means explain a line which appears to have two superfluous syllables:

Con la confusion logré
escaparme, y perdida la senda (2404-2405)

By reading “logré-esca | parme,” the difficulty is avoided, but a greater one is raised. If such *enjambement* existed in the seventeenth century, one ought to be able to produce corroborative cases in plenty. No one has done so; and once more, ¡*vengan pruebas!*

I would readily admit that in reading these lines one can pass two syllables from the second to the first without offense to the ear. But that fact scarcely touches the case. It is necessary to state and emphasize a principle too often overlooked: that *metrical laws, tho having their origin in speech laws, do not always coincide with them now*. The most common proof is the fact that the rules of synalepha are not the same as those of syneresis; we have *la era*, but *maestro*. Another frequent occurrence is synalepha between the speeches of different persons. Thus:

Laurencio ¿Tu pensamiento?

Finea

Si.

Laur.

En ti.

Lope de Vega, *La Dama boba*, v. 1721.

Or

Finea

Buelbome a boba.

Laur.

Eso ynporta.

Ibid., v. 2656.

Here is metrical synalepha, but it would be hard to conceive real phonetic speech-synalepha between separate speakers.

The mere indication of this truth must suffice now, without elaboration.

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forms the unit of *redondillas*, *quintillas*, *décimas*, and *romance* verse. One does sometimes find a lyric or musical octosyllable which is, intentionally and exceptionally, divided in even halves.

⁵ Since this note was written, two of these articles have appeared, and a third is announced. So far they do not seem conclusive with regard to the particular point involved here.

E. BERGERAT'S "RAMOUKI LE CASSEUR DE
PIERRES."

An attractive apologue by Emile Bergerat, entitled "Ramouki le casseur de pierres, conte japonais" will be found in R. Michaud's *Conteurs français d'aujourd'hui*.¹ Through the success of Professor Michaud's excellent text-book, Bergerat's story has had a circulation in the United States which justifies some tardy comment upon its presentation of Japanese customs, a matter of importance to Americans.

"Un bonze japonais, bouddhiste, m'a conté la jolie légende que voici," said Bergerat in his first sentence, which was not meant to be believed. He then tells of a discontented stone-breaker named Ramouki, who lived on the road from Yokohama to Kamakura by selling rounded stones to pilgrims. They would throw these stones at idols thinking that if the stones found a lodgment on them their prayers were granted. Because Ramouki is envious of a rich man who passed by, a serving-maid advised him to pray to Buddha who transformed him instantly into the object of his envy. In his new form, Ramouki became jealous of the Mikado who passed that way with a galloping guard, and he immediately became the Mikado. But it seemed finer to be Fusi-Yama than to be the Mikado, and he was turned into the mountain. Next, he was too hot under the burning sun, and was turned into a cool cloud which grew into a cloud-burst and a wind. Then he saw a rock resisting the storm, with a "mousmé"² seated upon it, but when he wished to be the rock on which the girl was resting, she handed him back his hammer, and he returned to stone-breaking cured of dreams.

The parallel to this story is found in the Dutch story *Max Havelaar* (1860) by a resident of Java, Edward Douwes Dekker (1820-1887). Aimé Humbert inserted in his *Japon illustré*³ a transla-

¹ D. C. Heath & Co., 1923, pp. 16-19, reprinted from *Trente-six contes de toutes les couleurs*, Paris, 1919.

² This word, generally transcribed *musume*, only means "daughter" or "jeune fille" in Japanese.

³ 2 vols., 4°, Paris, Hachette, 1870. See Vol. II, chap. xxxiv, "Contes japonais." Here the pseudo-Japanese story is quoted after two genuine

tion of a pseudo-Japanese episode from *Max Havelaar* entitled "Le Tailleur de pierres," to support his claim that the contact of the literary genius of the West with the civilization of the Far East would be fruitful. If Bergerat knew Humbert's book, which used to be the best compendium of knowledge concerning the Japanese, he would probably have read the chapter of "Contes japonais."

What is the plot of the Dutch-Japanese story, whose title so much resembles Bergerat's "Casseur de pierres?" "Le tailleur de pierres" was an un-named discontented quarryman. His wish to be rich enough to enjoy fine clothing, comfort and leisure was granted by an angel, but he remained dissatisfied. Seeing the emperor pass, he coveted his position, and was made the emperor, but was soon changed into the sun because it had power over emperors, and then he became the cloud that cut off the sun's rays, and the rock that resisted the rain-cloud. But as a rock he found himself at the mercy of a stone-cutter, which taught him to be satisfied with his own place.

Comparing the two stories, Bergerat's "Casseur de pierres" is said to make a living by selling stones to pilgrims, although stones are too common in Japan to be saleable.⁴ He is envious of a "riche bourgeois corpulent, emporté par deux jeunes djinrikis,"⁵ and of the Mikado, whose name is used only by Bergerat. His

Japanese fairy-tales. Humbert was the first diplomatic representative of Switzerland in Japan.

⁴ An account of many Japanese religious practices will be found in my monograph; "The Great Shrine of Idzumo," *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, Vol. XLI, Pt. iv, 1913.

⁵ *Conteurs français d'aujourd'hui*, p. 17, l. 2, and note, p. 134. The Japanese word usually transcribed *jinrikisha* means man-power-vehicle, a two wheeled vehicle drawn by a man who is sometimes assisted by another runner. These pullers are called *kurumaya*, carriage-men, by the Japanese. In *Things Japanese*, 5th ed., p. 265, Chamberlain says: "The poor word *jinrikisha* suffers many things at the hands of Japanese and foreigners alike. The Japanese generally cut off its tail and call it *jinriki*, or else, they translate the Chinese syllable *sha* into their own language, and call it *kuruma*. The English cut off its head and maltreat the vowels, pronouncing it *rickshaw*."

⁶ Of Fuji, Chamberlain says, *op. cit.*: "Philology is the science that can tell us least; for no consensus of opinion has yet been reached as to

stone-breaker becomes Fusi-yama⁶ instead of turning into the sun. Besides this, he has the "Japanese" name of Ramouki.

However "Ramouki" is not Japanese.⁷ My hypothesis is that Bergerat also consulted Emile Guimet's *Promenades japonaises*,⁸ which describes a trip by land from Yokohama to Kamakura, and found a mention here of "ranouki" the badger, as a servant of the god Inari.⁹ Unfortunately "ranouki" is a misprint for *tanuki*, the real word for badger. Thus the name Ramouki is only a corruption of a misprint.

Other evidence that Bergerat knew Guimet's *Promenades japonaises* can be given. Guimet describes a trip to Kamakura by road, Humbert by water. The former describes the Japanese custom of trying one's fortune by tossing a stone at an idol, which Humbert does not mention.¹⁰ Guimet employed two coolies to pull each rickshaw used by his party,¹¹ which perhaps suggested the phrase "emporté par deux jeunes djinrikis," quoted above.

Bergerat especially misrepresents the Japanese when Ramouki expresses the wish to be the Mikado. Dekker's stone-cutter expressed the same thought, though this is surely contrary to the "entirely reverential and distant" attitude of men's minds in Japan.¹² Bergerat committed an anachronism in describing a

the origin of the name of *Fuji*—anciently *Fuzi* or *Fuzhi*. *Fuji-san*, the current popular name, simply means 'Mount Fuji,' *san* being Chinese for 'mountain.' *Fuji-no-yama*, the form preferred in poetry, means 'the mountain of Fuji' in pure Japanese; and the Europeanized form *Fusiyama* is a corruption of this latter."

⁷ Inouye's *Jap.-Eng. Dictionary*, 1908, lists only eleven Japanese words beginning with an initial character pronounced *ra*.

⁸ Paris, 1878, ill. by F. Régamey. E. Guimet was the founder of the museum of religions that bears his name in Paris. He went around the world in the seventies with a government "mission" for the study of religions.

⁹ *Promenades*, p. 44.

¹⁰ *Promenades*, p. 170: "La plupart (des statues) sont recouvertes de petites pierres que les fidèles jettent dessus; si la pierre reste en place, c'est un indice que la prière est acceptée; si la pierre tombe, c'est un mauvais présage."

¹¹ *Promenades*, p. 58 and *passim*.

¹² See Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, art. "Mikado." "The etymology of the word *Mikado* is not quite clear. Some . . . trace it to *mi*,

rich Japanese as "habillé de pierreries sonnantes et prismatiques,"¹³ since jewels were only worn by the ancient Japanese. It is also an anachronism to have the Mikado travel in a palanquin of gold, "voilé à tous les regards . . . à travers les fronts prosternés"¹⁴ in the days of rickshaws, invented in the seventies. Need I say in conclusion that all imaginative literary interpretations of the Far East should at first be regarded with suspicion?¹⁵

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ZUM FUGENVOKAL IN WESTGERMANISCHEN KOMPOSITIS

I

Ahd. got-a-weppi, *as.* god-o-webbi, *ags.* god-(e)-web, usw. 'kostbares Gewebe.'

Im *Ahd.* liegen die Formen *got-a*, *got-o*, *got-u*, *got-i*, *got-e-weppi* vor (vgl. O. Gröger, *Die ahd. und as. Kompositionsfuge*, 1910, Wörterverzeichnis, S. 335). Nach Gröger (§ 46. 1b, S. 86) soll aber der Fugenvokal -o- vorherrschen.

Im *As.* liegen die Formen *god-o*, *god-u*, *god-e-webbi* (vgl. Gröger, § 46. 1b, S. 85) vor. Sowie im *Ahd.* herrscht auch im *As.* der Fugenvokal -o- (aber in noch höherem Grade als im *Ahd.*) vor. Im *Heliand* begegnen nur die Formen *god-o*, *god-u-webbi*; die Form *god-e-webbi* ist viel seltener belegt und zwar nur in den Glossen.

Über die vorherrschende Form *as.* *god-o-webbi*: *ahd.* *got-o-weppi*

'august,' and *kado*, a 'gate,' reminding one of the 'Sublime Porte' of Turkey."

¹³ *Conteurs*, p. 17, l. 4. The *magatama* or "curved-jewels" of the ancient Japanese are illustrated by Humbert, *Japon illustré*, Vol. I, p. 145, where they are called "pierreries."

¹⁴ *Conteurs*, p. 17, l. 30.

¹⁵ For instance, Maurice Magre's "féerie chinoise" *Sin*, acted by Gémier in 1921 at the Fémina theater, takes place 2000 years ago at Nankin, although this name was first given to the city in 1368. Magre also alluded to the "pousse-pousse" or rickshaw (*Sin*, p. 18: "Le long des remparts on vont les pousse-pousse.")

mit dem Fugenvokal -o- äussert sich Gröger (§ 46. 1b, S. 85-86) folgendermassen: "Es scheint aber nicht ausgeschlossen, dass man es in *godobeddi* pulvinar und *godowebbi* sericum, die auch ahd. regelmässig mit Fugenvokal erscheinen, sowie in dem nach der Analogie von *godobeddi* gebildeten und ihm bedeutungsverwandten *godorasta* pulvinar, mit Gen.-plur.-Compositis zu tun hat (vgl. auch *afgodohûs*, § 17. II. 3 f.), eine Annahme, die dadurch an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnt, dass ahd. wie as. der Fugenvokal meistens als o erscheint (vgl. aber über o vor Labial § 31. 1b, durch Assimilation § 31. 1a)."

Ich glaube, dass diese Vermutung Grögers richtig ist. Da das As. den Fugenvokal -a- nach kurzer Silbe nur selten (und zwar sonst niemals nach Verschlusslauten, vgl. Gröger, § 45, S. 84), das Ahd. hingegen ihn fast durchweg bewahrt, so wird man wohl den Fugenvokal -o- in as. *god-o-webbi* von dem Fugenvokal -o- in ahd. *got-o-weppi* trennen müssen.

Im Ahd. begegnen alle möglichen Schwankungen des ursprünglichen Fugenvokals -a-, d. h. -o-, -u-, -i-, -e-. Das -o- in *got-o-weppi* liesse sich also aus *got-a-weppi* entweder durch den Einfluss des folgenden Labials -w oder durch Assimilation an den Vokal o der vorhergehenden Silbe erklären.

Ganz anders aber steht die Sache im As. Der gänzliche Mangel des ursprünglichen Fugenvokals -a- und der fast durchweg herrschende Fugenvokal -o- (-u-) deuten darauf hin, dass der Fugenvokal -o- in *god-o-webbi* nicht, wie in ahd. *got-o-weppi*, auf ein ursprüngliches -a- zurückgeht, sondern sekundären Ursprungs sein muss.

Dass wir in as. *god-o-webbi* ein Gen.-plur.-Kompositum haben, halte ich mit Gröger (§ 46. 1b) für wahrscheinlich. Der Form *god-o-webbi* stehen aber nicht nur die mit *god-o-* gebildeten Komposita, wie *god-o-beddi*, *god-o-rasta*, *afgod-o-hûs* (welche Gröger hier anführt), sondern auch die mit den bedeutungsverwandten *regan-*, *metod-* gebildeten Komposita zur Seite, wie z. B. *regan-o-giskapu*, *metod-o-giskapu*. Der Fugenvokal -e- der seltneren Form *god-e-webbi* liesse sich dann als Schwankung eines älteren -o- erklären.

Im Ags. kommt das betreffende Kompositum *ohne* und *mit* Fugenvokal vor, also *god-web* und *god-e-web*. Da das Ags. den Fugenvokal (west-germ.) -a- nach kurzer Silbe regelrecht schwinden

lässt (vgl. Bülbring, *Ags. Elementarb.*, § 397), so werden wir wohl annehmen müssen, dass auch hier die Form *god-web* (=afries. *god-wob*) lautgerecht ist, und dass sie daher, ebenso wie ahd. *got-a-weppi*, das eigentliche Kompositum darstellt. Demnach müsste die ags. Form *god-e-web*¹ (mit Fugenvokal) eine sekundäre Entwicklung darstellen, die mit as. *god-o-webbi* als Gen.-plur.-Kompositum auf eine Linie zu stellen ist. Der ags. Fugenvokal -e- liesse sich dann (wohl im Anschluss an den häufig erscheinenden Fugenvokal -e-) aus einem -a- des Gen. plur. (*god-a-*) erklären.

II

*Westgerm. *gunþ*: ahd. *gund-fano*, as. *gûð-hamo*, ags. *gûð-fana*, usw.

Wenn dem westgerm. **gunþ-* als erstem Glied eines Kompositums ein **gunþ-jô* der *jô*-Flexion zu grunde liegt, wie herkömmlich angenommen wird (vgl. Fick, *Vergl. Wb. der indo-german. Sprachen*⁴, S. 124, *gunþiô*), so bleibt der fast durchweg begegnende Mangel des Fugenvokals in sämtlichen westgerm. Sprachen kaum erklärlich, da hier das -j- der Suffixsilbe sonst als Fugenvokal (-i: -e-) regelrecht bewahrt wird.

Im As. (vgl. Gröger, § 66. 1, S. 111) und im Ags. liegen keine Beispiele von *gûð-* mit Fugenvokal vor; nur im Ahd. begegnen Formen mit Fugenvokal, aber verhältnismässig selten gegenüber den Formen ohne Fugenvokal (vgl. Gröger, § 147. a, S. 252-254).

Im selbständigen Gebrauch kommt dieses Wort nicht nur als *jô*-Stamm in as. *gûðea* (vgl. an. *gunnr: guðr*), sondern auch als *ô*-Stamm in ags. *gûð* vor. Wäre ags. *gûð* ein ursprünglicher *jô*-Stamm gewesen, der in die *ô*-Flexion übergetreten war, so hätte man statt *gûð* eine Form **gýð* mit *i*-Umlaut erwartet (vgl. *yð* = as. *ûðea*, an. *unnr: uðr* 'Woge'). Ags. *gûð* (*ô*-Stamm) neben as. *gûðea* deutet darauf hin, dass im Urwestgerm. ein **gunþ-ô* neben **gunþ-jô* gestanden hat,² eine Annahme, die durch die fugenvokallosten Formen der Komposita im Westgerm. gestützt wird.

Für die fugenvokallosten Formen der Komposita im Westgerm. (also durchweg im As. und im Ags.) wird man wohl ein **gunþ-ô*

¹ Vgl. auch *god-e-gyld* = eigentlich 'der Götter Zahlung'; 'idolum,' 'Götze.'

² Vgl. auch Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik* I, § 319, der für ahd. *gund-* in Kompositis ein **gunda* neben **gundia* voraussetzt.

(> ags. *gûð*) ansetzen müssen. Möglich ist es zwar, dass die fugenvokallosten Formen aus einem alten Nom. **gunþ-i* der *jô*-Flexion (vgl. Gröger, § 56. 2, S. 95; § 147. a, S. 255) stammen. Bei den *jô*-Stämmen aber herrschen sonst überall die Formen mit Fugenvokal in überwiegender Anzahl vor, während die *fugenvokallosten* Formen (namentlich im Ahd. und im As.) verhältnismässig selten sind³ (vgl. Gröger, § 56. 1, 2, S. 93-95; § 147. a, S. 254). Die umgekehrten Verhältnisse bei **gunþ-* in Kompositis stimmen also nicht mit der Annahme eines ursprünglichen **gunþ-jô* überein; daher wird es nicht nötig sein, die fugenvokallosten Formen aus einem Nom. **gunþ-i* > **gunþ-* zu erklären.

Die ahd. Beispiele mit Fugenvokal, namentlich Personennamen wie *Gund-i-bert*, *Gund-e-rîh*, *Gunt-a-swind*, *Gund-o-bert*, *Gund-u-roh* (vgl. Gröger, § 147. a, S. 253) zeigen alle möglichen Schwankungen des Fugenvokals. Aus der Qualität des hier erscheinenden Vokals lassen sich aber auf den *ursprünglichen* (d. h. ahd.) Fugenvokal keine sicheren Schlüsse ziehen. Am wahrscheinlichsten scheint es mir, dass wir hier mit *zwei* zu grunde liegenden Fugenvokalen zu tun haben, nämlich dem *-i-* der *jô*-Flexion und dem *-a-*⁴ der *ô*-Flexion (d. h. durch Anschluss an einen Nom. **gunt-a-*). Letztere Bildung wäre aber sekundären (d. h. ahd.) Ursprungs und kommt also bei der Frage nach der ursprünglich westgerm. Form des Wortes in Kompositis nicht in Betracht. Wenn weiter der ahd. Fugenvokal auch Schwankungen eines älteren *-i-* darstellt, so ist es jedoch nicht sicher, dass dieses *-i-* ursprünglich (d. h. gemeinwestgerm. Ursprungs) ist, denn angesichts der überwiegenden Anzahl der Fälle von **gunþ-* in Kompositis *ohne* Fugenvokal dürfte man dieses *-i-* als sekundär (d. h. teils als phonetisch entwickelt, vgl. Gröger, § 147. a, S. 254, oder teils als analo-

³ Im Ags. begegnen etwas häufiger als im Ahd. und im As. Formen der *jô*-Flexion ohne Fugenvokal, wohl weil im Ags. der Nom. sg. der *jô*-Flexion schon *ohne Endung* vorlag, vgl. *hild* Nom., wonach *hild-freca*, *hild-fruma*, usw. gegenüber den eigentlichen Kompositis mit Fugenvokal wie *hild-e-rinc*, *hild-e-bil*, usw.

⁴ Dieses *-a-* könnte ja auch Schwankung (durch Assimilation hervorgehoben) eines älteren *-i-* darstellen, wenn das zweite Glied ein *-a-* enthält, wie z. B. in *Gund-a-ram*, *Gund-a-lah*, *Gund-a-rât*, usw. Sonst (wie z. B. in *Gunt-a-swint*) aber geben die Laute der Nachbarsilben keinen Anlass zum Schwanken *i* > *a*, weshalb das *-a-* hier als der ursprüngliche ahd. Vokal aufzufassen ist.

gischen Fugenvokal nach dem Muster des gleichbedeutenden *hilt-i*) auffassen.

Diese Annahme des sekundären Ursprungs des ahd. Fugenvokals gewinnt an Wahrscheinlichkeit, wenn man die Tatsache in Betracht zieht, dass die ahd. Komposita mit Fugenvokal überhaupt nicht in den ältesten Quellen vorliegen und auch später gegen Formen mit Fugenvokal zurücktreten (vgl. Gröger, § 151, S. 260). Wenn weiter das Ahd. Abweichungen (und zwar in verhältnismässig geringem Masse) von den übrigen westgerm. Sprachen zeigt, so ist es viel wahrscheinlicher, dass diese Abweichungen sekundären Ursprungs sind, als dass sie die ursprüngliche Bildungsweise darstellen. Es sei hier bemerkt, dass weder das As. noch das Ags. Beispiele von **gunþ-* mit Fugenvokal aufweist.

Die Erklärung der ahd. Formen mit Fugenvokal als uneigentlicher Komposita empfiehlt sich weiter dadurch, dass hierbei das Westgerm. eine Einheitlichkeit gewinnt, indem in diesem Falle ein ursprüngliches **gunþ-ô* in Kompositis für sämtliche westgerm. Sprachen anzusetzen wäre.

Lehrreich sind schliesslich bei der Frage nach der ursprünglichen Gestaltung des **gunþ-* in westgerm. Kompositis die Verhältnisse im Altnordischen. Hier liegt nämlich *gunnr: guðr* der *jô*-Flexion in Kompositis niemals mit Fugenvokal vor, trotzdem die *jô*-Stämme sonst im An., gerade wie im Westgerm., regelrecht den Fugenvokal (*-i: -e-*) aufweisen, vgl. z. B. *gunn-fani* (= ahd. *gund-fano*, as. *gût-fano*, Gröger, § 66. 1, S. 111, ags. *gûð-fana*), *gunn-logi*, *Gunn-björn*, usw. gegenüber *hildr*, *jô*-Flexion, durchweg mit Fugenvokal, also *hild-i-meïðr* (vgl. ahd. *hilt-i-scalh*, as. *hild-i-skalk*, ags. *hild-e-rinc*), *Hild-i-björn*, usw.

Die Verhältnisse im An. weisen also, ebenso wie im Westgerm., auf ein ursprüngliches **gunþ-ô* der *ô*-Flexion in Kompositis hin. Der gänzliche Mangel des Fugenvokals in den an. Kompositis schliesst die Annahme aus, dass hier ein **gunþ-jô* der *jô*-Flexion neben **gunþ-ô* hätte stehen können, wie dies auf Grund des im Ahd. erscheinenden Fugenvokals für das Westgerm. angenommen werden darf. Die fugenvokallosten Formen der Komposita im An. und in Westgerm. weisen auf ein gemeinnord.-westgerm. **gunþ-ô* hin; woraus zu erschliessen ist, dass die ahd. Formen mit Fugenvokal sekundären Ursprungs sind und daher uneigentliche Komposita darstellen.

Liegt somit dem **gunþ-* in den eigentlichen Kompositis des Nord.- und Westgerm. ein **gunþ-ô* der *ô*-Flexion zu grunde, so erscheint dagegen die *jô*-Flexion des Wortes beim selbständigen Gebrauch (vgl. as. *gûðea*, an. *gunnr: guðr*) sowie vielleicht auch in den ahd. uneigentlichen Kompositis (mit Fugenvokal).

Diese Verhältnisse weisen auf die Möglichkeit hin, das die *jô*-Flexion dieses Wortes späteren Ursprungs ist als die *ô*-Flexion. Bei den eigentlichen Kompositis scheint das Wort in seiner ursprünglichen Flexion (d. h. *ô*-Stamm) behandelt zu werden, während beim selbständigen Gebrauch an Übertritt aus der ursprünglichen *ô*-Flexion in die *jô*-Flexion (vielleicht unter dem Einfluss des gleichbedeutenden **hild-jô*) zu denken ist. Ob dieser Vorgang sich schon in urwestgerm.-urnord. Zeit vollzogen hatte oder als erst einzelsprachlich zu betrachten ist, lässt sich schwer entscheiden.

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NOTE ON JOHN LYLY'S *MIDAS*

In John Lyly's *Midas*, iv, 4, 48, Sophronia quotes a Latin line,

Uno namque modo Pan et Apollo nocent.

This is probably adapted from what George Chapman called "Virgil's Epigram of Wine and Women,"

Nec Veneris nec tu vini tenearis amore;

Uno namque modo vina Venusque nocent, etc.

See *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 633, or Scaliger's *Catalecta Virgilii*, p. 174.

This might have been added to my notes on Lyly's plays recently published in *Studies in Philology*, xxii, 267-71.

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REVIEWS.

EZIO LEVI, *Il Principe Don Carlos nella Leggenda e nella Poesia*.
Seconda Edizione con 7 Tavole. Fratelli Treves di Roma.
[1924.]

Dr. Levi's study of the Don Carlos theme is one of the "Pubblicazioni Dell' Istituto Cristoforo Colombo," and appears just ten years after his *Storia Poetica di Don Carlos* (Pavia, 1914). Since the earlier volume is now difficult to obtain, we must be grateful for the new publication.

Dr. Levi's new volume, with its new title, is hardly more than a reprint of the earlier work. About seven pages of the 1914 edition (chiefly direct quotations from Schiller's drama) are omitted in 1924; about a dozen pages (mainly footnotes) of the 1924 edition are not to be found in the edition of 1914. The material of 1914 is divided into twelve chapters, that of 1924 into ten. The headings of the first nine chapters in each edition differ slightly; the last three chapters of 1914 make one chapter in 1924. Other changes are of minor significance—a word or phrase changed here and there, two sentences (more frequently two paragraphs) combined into one. The 1914 version has 435 pages, the 1924 version 427.

One gets the impression that the 1924 version was prepared in great haste. Although "errata" of 1914 have been corrected, new mistakes have crept in; the preface and the index of illustrations of the 1914 edition have been omitted in 1924; and in my copy—probably due to haste in binding the book—one whole signature (pages 305-320) has dropped out entirely. Neither edition contains what would greatly have enhanced the value of the work—a general index of authors and subjects.

In his first chapter—"Il Principe Don Carlos"—Levi marshals the well-known facts presented by Cabrera, Gachard, Maurenbrecher, Prescott, Buedinger, Rachfahl, and others to show that the prince was a sickly, deformed, and dissipated youth rather than the handsome, idealistic, cosmopolitan dreamer of the later dramas. In the second chapter—"La Regina Elisabetta e la Principessa D'Eboli"—Levi gives in detail the historically accurate facts concerning the two most important feminine characters in the treatments of the Don Carlos theme.

Having thus given the historical background, Levi proceeds to outline the development of the Don Carlos legend. He shows how the French poem *Diogenes* (written in Flanders in 1581) and the more or less historical accounts by Brantôme, Matthieu,

Méseray, and Mayerne-Turquet laid the basis for future treatments of the theme. He might have emphasized the fact that all these authors are mentioned by St. Réal in footnotes of his *Don Carlos: Nouvelle Historique* (1672), the dominating source for later literary treatments and the source which emphasizes one all-important element—the love of Carlos for his stepmother and former fiancée.

In the fourth chapter, "La Leggenda di Don Carlos nel Teatro Spagnuolo," Levi devotes almost a hundred pages to a thorough outline, analysis, and discussion of Enciso's *El Principe Don Carlos* (written between 1620 and 1628, first published in 1634)—one of the most important treatments of the theme, and especially interesting because it makes no mention of any love on Carlos's part for the wife of his father.

Levi discusses the two versions of Enciso's drama—that of 1634, in which Carlos is miraculously cured of his illness, and that of 1773, in which he dies as a result of his own wild excesses. Levi rightly gives credit to J. P. W. Crawford for pointing out in 1907 that the conclusion of the 1773 version was the work of Cañizares. He might have mentioned, however, that Adolf Schaeffer, when publishing in 1887 his German translation of the drama, shrewdly surmised that the tragic end of the 1773 version had been inserted by Cañizares. This later version, it should be noted, more than any other later treatment of the theme, agrees closely with accepted historical facts. Levi concludes the chapter with a discussion of Montalban's *El Segundo Séneca de España* and with an interesting but not definitely proved theory that Enciso's drama exerted an influence on Calderon de la Barca's *La Vita é un Sogno*.

The fifth chapter deals with French treatments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Brantôme, St. Réal, Racine's *Mithridate* (supposed to have been influenced by St. Réal's novellette), and Campistron's *Andronic* (in which the scene is shifted to Constantinople and the characters assume Eastern names). It is to be regretted that Levi was unable to refer, except in a few footnotes, to the scholarly work on St. Réal by Gustave Dulong (Paris, 1921).

The sixth chapter is devoted entirely to Otway's drama, the seventh to the Italian dramas of the seventeenth century (mainly, of course, to Alfieri, although some pages are devoted to Pepoli, Polidori, and the Italian adaptations of Campistron), and the eighth to Schiller's *Don Carlos*. In discussing these important dramas, Levi is at his best. Though at times diffuse, he sums up skillfully the facts that he regards as indispensable for a correct understanding of the works.

The last two chapters comprise only one-tenth of the whole book.

The ninth chapter, with the curiously ambitious title "La Leggenda di Don Carlos nel Romanticismo Tedesco," deals with only two German dramas—the comparatively unknown *Carlos und Elizabeth* by Johann Wilhelm Rose (Leipzig, 1802) and the long but highly interesting *Don Carlos, Infant von Spanien* by Fouqué (Danzig, 1823). Though Fouqué's play has the same title as Schiller's and though it begins with a "Zueignung an Friedrich Schiller" (six stanzas in ottava rima), Levi maintains that Fouqué was influenced mainly by Enciso. The tenth and last chapter devotes twenty pages to what Levi chooses to call French, Italian, and Spanish romanticists—Chénier, Soumet, Cormon, Nuñez de Arce, and Verhaeren. Here again one is disappointed to find only one page for a discussion of Nuñez de Arce's deservedly famous *El Haz de Leña*.

One's final judgment of Levi's work depends largely on the purpose he had in mind when he started his investigations. If he intended to discuss thoroughly the most important authors (more than half of the book is concerned with Enciso, St. Réal, Campi-Stron, Otway, Alfieri, and Schiller) and to mention others only in passing, he has performed his task well. If, on the other hand, he intended to cite, even though casually, as many treatments as possible, he has not been successful.

Levi is most thorough in his discussion of Italian and Spanish treatments; additional titles that might be suggested are of little importance. In the English, French, and German fields, however, he has merely skimmed the surface. He has not used material to which he might easily have had access. One is chagrined, moreover, that during the ten years intervening between the publication of his first book and his second he has added practically nothing new. Levi cites altogether about thirty treatments of the theme; as a matter of fact, the number is nearer one hundred.

Unfavorable criticism might also be offered because Levi has omitted entirely the excellent list (contained in the 1914 edition) of the operatic treatments of the theme; because he does not take up many alleged translations of St. Réal, which, in fact, are really adaptations; and chiefly because he has not attempted to deal with translations of important treatments into foreign languages. Though Schiller's drama, for example, has been translated into English more often than any other of Schiller's plays except *Wilhelm Tell*, Levi does not mention one of these translations.

The criticisms given above should not detract from the value of the book, which shows conclusively the desirability of examining literary treatments of such a historical character as Don Carlos. Toward the end of his last chapter Levi states that "la leggenda di Don Carlos é una della più ricche e della più suggestiva della letteratura moderna." This statement bears out Madame de Staël's

(in *De l'Allemagne*, Chapter XV) "le sujet de Don Carlos est un de plus dramatiques que l'histoire puisse offrir" and Campistron's (in the introduction to his *Andronic*) that Don Carlos "est le sujet le plus touchant et le plus singulier qui ait jamais été traité."

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Les Poésies de Jausbert de Pucibot. Editées par WILLIAM P. SHEPARD. Paris, 1924.

A welcome addition to the fast-growing collection of the *Classiques Français du Moyen Age* is the excellent edition of the poetry of Jausbert de Pucibot by Professor William P. Shepard, the first American to edit a Provençal text for the series. American scholars, to be sure, have studied Provençal grammar and literature to some extent: but the texts published by them have been written in the language of the North rather than in that of the South.

Professor Shepard has broken new ground in selecting for his labors one of the few previously unedited troubadours, ignored in the Chrestomathies and literary histories and known only through his romantic biography. Yet Jausbert de Pucibot, if not a true poet like Bernart de Ventadorn, is well worth editing. In his fifteen authentic pieces, amid much that is conventional, or trivial and insipid, there is some originality and an occasional note of true feeling.

Like the other texts in the series, the edition of Jausbert consists of an introduction on the life and work of the poet; the text, accompanied by a French translation; and appendices, variant readings and indices. The whole work is carefully and capably done.

The *Introduction* adds to our knowledge of the life of the poet by identifying the monastery which he entered in his youth, and by dating his poetic activity through a careful study of the persons named in his poems. Interesting passages in which he is mentioned by his contemporaries are supplied later on by the appendices.

An interesting problem treated in the introduction, which arises in determining Jausbert's authentic works, should be mentioned. Professor Shepard accepts the attributions made by Bartsch in his *Grundriss*, and, in addition, prints separately two poems, Jausbert's authorship of which is uncertain. It is not these poems, however, but another (37, 1 of the *Grundriss*), omitted by Shepard, that supplies the problem. This poem, with another (Bartsch, 174, 2), form a *tenson* on the subject of one of Jausbert's authentic poems (no. V), namely whether preference should be given to young or to older women. In 174, 2, the names "En Jausbert" and "Mos Audibertz" are found: and the other poem, 37, 1, found in three

manuscripts, is attributed by one of them, D, to a "Gausbertz en Bernart de Durfort." Though the other two attribute it to a certain "Ogier," Schultz [-Gora],¹ relying on D, ascribes it to Bernart de Durfort. Now we know from a document cited by Paul Meyer in the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*,² that this Bernart was called "Albert" by Raymond V of Toulouse, who had given him his castle: and the name "Albert" resembles somewhat the "Gausbert" of the "Gausbertz en Bernart de Durfort" of D, also the "Jausbert" of 174, 2. This latter poem, ascribed by D to Bertran de Preissac, is generally attributed to him now. A Bertran is, indeed, one of the interlocutors in both 37, 1 and 174, 2, as well as in Jausbert de Puycibot's poem. The last is the work that causes the difficulty. It is a *tenson* between the author himself and Bertran, not only on the same subject as the other two poems, but it expresses the same ideas, even using the same words. Yet if Jausbert de Puycibot is really the author of No. V of Shepard's edition, who is the author of 37, 1? Did Bernart de Durfort write a *serventes* supporting Jausbert's side of the argument, and Bertran de Preissac reply to him, maintaining the side he had already taken against Jausbert? Possibly the memory of Jausbert's part in the dispute might have tended to corrupt Bernart's nickname "Albert" into "Gaubert." I think Professor Shepard right in not publishing 37, 1 with Jausbert's work: but it is to be hoped that he will soon publish both this poem and 174, 2, as he promises, with a complete discussion of their literary relationship.

As to the two *indices*, the one containing the proper names is excellent. The word-index, on the other hand, seems somewhat scanty, though no more so than those in other volumes of the series. The difficulties in making a small list containing all words with unusual meanings and no others are insuperable. The value of glossaries of this type, therefore, seems to me doubtful. A set of notes explaining unusual constructions as well as meanings, such as appears in Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave's edition of *Uc de St. Circ*, published in the *Bibliothèque méridionale*, would seem more useful.

The most important thing, however, is the text with its translation. As to the text itself, I have only one slight suggestion. II, 59-60 reads as follows:

*No-n ai negun desmentir
Mas car cujava ver dir*

This reading does not agree very well with what precedes. The poet has just told us of having formerly praised the good qualities his lady did not possess. I should prefer the variant reading:

¹ *ZrPh.* VII (1883), 181.

² VII, 445.

*Non ai peccat del mentir
Car eu cujava ver dir*

There remains the translation. This, in general is excellent, accurate and clear, fairly literal without being word-for-word. I have a few suggestions to make, however.

V, 58. The phrase *tira jornau* is translated "*fait une journée de travail*." *Jornal* or *jornau* means "a day's pay," as well as a "day's work," and that seems to me the meaning here, as it corresponds better with the rest of the piece. Jausbert has previously used the expression *se (vol) en velha logar*, translated "se louer à une vieille" and the reward to be gained from an old woman has been stressed by his opponent throughout the piece. That *tirar* may be used in the sense of drawing pay may be seen from the following passage from the *Breviari d'Amor*, lines 17803-5:

*Per so que ls pague largamen
E quant ilh an tirat l'argen,
Fan lur comte.*

VIII, 31. *Eras penet ma follor* is translated as "Maintenant je me repens de ma folie." The translation is in harmony with the rest of the piece, but can *penet* mean "je me repens"? If it is from *penedir*, and used as it is here, it means "to expiate."

VIII, 48-50. *Per que totz clamanz
Volgra termenes, seignor
Del greu mal de sa calor*

is translated "voilà pourquoi, messeigneurs, je voudrais qu'elle tuât tous ses soupirants par le grand feu de sa chaleur." This seems to me rather far-fetched. I should prefer to take *termenes* as a plural noun rather than a verb, and translate: "Voilà pourquoi, tout en me plaignant, je chercherais la fin du grand mal de sa chaleur."

IX, 9. *De gaug camjera-l marit brau* is translated "avec joie elle changerait ce mari farouche." It seems probable to me that the subject is first person here, though either one makes sense.

X, 43. *Si amars es bos mestiers
Don sol venir pretz entiers
Quar leialtatz per trair
Se pert e vers per mentir*

"Mais la loyauté a fait place à la trahison, et la vérité au mensonge" is the translation for the last two lines. I cannot understand why this passage is put in the past. It seems to me a general statement and should be translated "la loyauté fait place" etc.

Professor Shepard's accuracy extends to his typography, errors in which are remarkably few. I have found only three in the whole work. In the bibliography, *Roman. Studien* should read

Roman. Arbeiten, a rather unfortunate mistake. In the text, IX, 24 has *deziram* for *deziran*, and in the table of contents *belh* of IX appears as *belk*. The reference to Schultz's work in the bibliography is not quite correct as to page. Furthermore, the alphabetical order in which Bartsch listed the poems, and which Professor Shepard apparently intended to keep, is altered by this change of the spelling of "*Oïmais*," the first word of VII, to "*Huemais*."

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Das Zentrale Problem in der Tragödie Friedrich Hebbels. By ELISE DOSENHEIMER. Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1925. Pp. vii, 114.

The author's name is held in pleasant remembrance for her instructive essay, *Friedrich Hebbels Auffassung vom Staat und sein Trauerspiel Agnes Bernauer* (1912). In the present study her main proposition is that the well-recognized issues between man and woman in Hebbel's dramas, except *Agnes Bernauer*, are reducible to a metaphysical sex dualism. Considerable stress is laid on a diary entry (T. III, 4189) in which Hebbel criticizes Laube's *Monaldeschi* and points out how it might have been based on sex dualism as a part of the fundamental dualism of the world. The passage does indeed show that Hebbel recognized a possible tragedy in such a theme, but no inference is permissible from this as to his own dramas. In outlining the hypothetical course of Laube's play he is careful to say that the special conflict should arise between man as man and woman as woman. In considering Dosenheimer's proposition we must apply the same test to each of his own plays. Does Hebbel conceive of the special issue between the man and the woman in a given drama as conditioned by their sex, and hence as inevitable apart from their human individuality?

The question thus put is, as far as I know, new and interesting. Dosenheimer answers it unhesitatingly in the affirmative. In my opinion not correctly so. The reasons, as far as I can give them here, are the following. If Hebbel had intended to portray his men and women as separated through sex by *eine metaphysisch unheilbare Dissonanz* (p. 118), then the specific conflict in each case would have to be expressed in acts and conceptions characteristic of each sex respectively and incomprehensible to the opposite sex, and this in their highest representatives, not in partial representatives. Hebbel generally shows us women tragically misunderstood by men, but he pictures other men who would not have erred in the same way. Holofernes' brutality is not a "meta-

physical" masculine trait. Other heroic figures of the poet, a Gyges, a Demetrius, would not be guilty of that. In *Genoveva* it is true the blindness of Siegfried seems to rest on such a fundamental masculinity when he believes his friend (as a man) rather than his wife (the woman). This situation is perhaps the strongest support of the author's proposition to be found in Hebbel, and she makes good use of it. Yet the separation between Siegfried and Genoveva is no greater in the end than that between Siegfried and Golo. In Golo too we have a man who would not have sinned in Siegfried's way against Genoveva.

This alignment is even more apparent in *Herodes und Mariamne* and *Gyges*. In each of these dramas the poet has created a man who in the specific conflict clearly recognizes the blindness of the tragic hero: Soemus and Gyges. Mariamne says to Soemus:

Ich bitt' Dir ab, Du stehst zu ihm wie ich,
Du bist, wie ich, in Deinem Heiligsten
Gekränkt, wie ich, zum Ding herabgesetzt!
Er ist ein Freund, wie er ein Gatte ist.

It is the *Mensch* not the woman who speaks here. And Rhodope says to Gyges:

Du hättest mich der Heimat nicht entführt
Um so an mir zu tun!

A "metaphysical" blindness would necessarily be shared by all men alike. And Kandaules himself recognizes his error in the end.

The same thing is true of *Maria Magdalena*. The masculine prejudices that drive the girl, the tragic victim, out of the world are already surmounted by a man, a member of that same social order, the Secretary. They are in no sense *unheilbar*.

This does not detract from Hebbel's originality as the first great dramatist to show the sexes in a problematic relation. Society first brought them into such a relation and Hebbel's tragedies reflect the social problem. In this sense he characterized them as *künstlerische Opfer der Zeit*. The meaning of his statement that man and not society should liberate woman is that man should learn to treat her as an individual in her given sphere. He could not urge men to do that in the face of *eine metaphysisch unheilbare Dissonanz*, nor would that allow him to show us such men as Soemus and Gyges.

The author's preoccupation with her thesis occasionally leads her to interpret the tragedies dogmatically. A striking illustration is her identification in *Judith* of the Jewish-Heathen conflict with the man-woman conflict. The contradiction between the two factors has been pointed out convincingly, among others by Meyer-Benfey. Dosenheimer apparently sees the Jewish-Heathen con-

flict merge into the man-woman dualism: "Der welthistorisch-geistige Prozess zwischen zwei ethisch-religiösen Bewusstseinswelten wird als der zwischen den Geschlechtern anhängige Prozess ausgefochten" (p. 37). The logical hiatus here is enormous. What has the Jewish-Heathen conflict to do with the sexes? It would take more than Hebbel's eloquence to answer this question.

Finally, if Hebbel had based his tragedies on a *metaphysisch unheilbare Dissonanz* between the sexes, he would be worse off with his metaphysics than he is anyway. For we no longer believe in an absolute physical difference between the sexes, much less a *metaphysisch unheilbare Dissonanz*. A good many of the author's sentences read as if written in a time of greater confidence in metaphysical phrases than the present.

On the other hand the monograph in question has many things to commend it, among them the three following: Frequent stimulating points of view, a sound analysis of the dramas by a person thoroughly familiar with Hebbel, an analysis that gains by not being rigidly subordinated to the main thesis, and finally a very suggestive and interesting comparison of Hebbel, Ibsen, Strindberg, and Wedekind in their treatment of woman.

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The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald. By L. R. MERRILL. Yale Studies in English, LXIX. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. 460 pp. \$4.50.

The main object of this dissertation has been "to present a life of Grimald, the facts of which have not been known; to reproduce the text of his two Latin dramas, *Christus Redivivus* and *Archipropheta*, the latter of which has been inaccessible to students of early sixteenth-century drama; and to present both of these plays in translation." It contains a good chapter on the life of Grimald, it provides two interesting prefaces to his Latin plays, and it reprints the shorter poems which were included in *Tottel's Miscellany*, as well as six others which have been preserved elsewhere.

Perhaps the most useful comment on it would be to add a few suggestions to the notes. And first a few guesses at Grimald's sources, which may serve to supplement Mr. H. H. Hudson's illuminating article in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxix, 388-394.

P. 375. The poem *A True Love* contains various fancies which may be traced to Virgil, or ultimately to Theocritus (*Id.* ix, 34-35; xii, 3-9; i, 132-35). But perhaps they came to Grimald through some such neo-Latin poem as Andrea Navagero's *Iolas*. Compare the opening lines,

What sweet relief the showers to thirstie plants we see:
What dere delite, the blooms to bees: my true love is to mee,

with *Iolas*, 22-23,

Dulce apibus flores, rivi sitientibus herbis,
Gramen ovi, caprae cytissus, Amaryllis Iolae;

and the lines,

As fresh and lusty vere foule winter doth exceed,
As morning bright with scarlet sky doth passe the evenings weed,
As melow pearces above the crabs esteemed be,
So doth my love surmount them all, whom yet I hap to see,

with *Iolas*, 68-73,

Quantum ver formosum hieme est iucundius atra,
Quantum mite pirum sorbis est dulcius ipsis,
Quantum hirsuta capella suo saetiosior haedo,
Quantum nocturnis obscuri Vesperis umbris
Puniceo exsurgens Aurora nitentior ortu est,
Tantum, Amarylli, aliis mihi carior ipsa puellis.

P. 379. The poem *The Muses* was probably suggested by some such poem as the *Nomina Musarum* or *De Musarum Inventis* (variously ascribed to Virgil, to Cato, to Ausonius). E. K. ascribed it to Virgil, on *S. C.* iv, 100 and xi, 53. See *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, no. 664; Ausonius, ed. Peiper, p. 412. Compare Grimald's line, "Delitefull talk loves Comical Thaley," with the Latin line, "Comica lascivo gaudet sermone Thalia"; "Lord Phoebus in the mids . . . embraceth all," with "In medio residens complectitur omnia Phoebus."

P. 393. The beginning of the poem *To L. J. S.*,

Charis the fourth, Pieris the tenth, the second Cypris, Jane,
One to assemblies three adjoynd,

is very like one of Sannazaro's *Epigrams*, III, 2,

Quarta Charis, decima es mihi Pieris, altera Cypris,
Cassandra, una choris addita diva tribus.

P. 389. The lines *To his familiar Frend* are based on an epigram of Muretus. See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxix, 393.

P. 393. *The Garden* is a paraphrase of a Latin poem *De laude Horti*, or *De Laudibus Hortuli*,

Adeste, Musae, maximi proles Iovis,
Laudes feracis praedicemus hortuli, etc.

See *Anthol. Lat.*, ed. Riese, 635, or Scaliger's *Catalecta Virgilii*, Leyden ed. 1617, p. 176.

A few of the notes on the shorter poems need revision:

P. 376, l. 4. "Ayelife left" represents Beza's "posito . . . numine" (quoted on p. 417). "Ayelife" is apparently a sub-

stantive, meaning "life for ever." It is not recorded in the *N.E.D.*

P. 376, l. 6. A "gripe" is a vulture. "Gripes name" is a translation of Beza's "vulturis . . . nomine."

P. 377, l. 20. "Ceres imp": Proserpina. See Ovid, *Met.* v, 391 ff.

P. 398, l. 13. "Sicil brethren": two famous brothers of Catania (mentioned, e. g., by Seneca, *De Benef.* III, 37, 2). Their names are variously given: Amphinomus and Anapius, or Anapis, Damon and Phintias, Philonomus and Callias. See Robinson Ellis's note on the Latin poem *Aetna*, 624 ff., or J. Vessereau's note on the same passage.

P. 408, l. 25. "The latine Muses and the Grayes": a translation of Beza's "Latinae Graiaque Camoenae."

P. 408, l. 27. "Hertpersyng Pitho": a translation of Beza's "flexanimis Pitho." *Peitho* was the Greek goddess of persuasion, or winning eloquence.

On p. 59 the editor comments on the number of Virgilian phrases which occur in Grimald's Latin poems, and he quotes some of them in footnotes to his text. A few others might have been cited. Cp. p. 194, l. 6, with *Aen.* I, 94; p. 204, l. 15, with *Aen.* I, 153; p. 206, ll. 1-4, with *Ecl.* VI, 82-86; p. 272, l. 26, with *Geor.* I, 330; p. 306, l. 28, with *Aen.* V, 720; p. 352, l. 14, with *Aen.* IX, 441; p. 356, l. 4, with *Aen.* II, 6; p. 410, l. 15, with *Geor.* IV, 168. It would be an interesting task for some young scholar to study Grimald's use of Plautus and Terence.

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Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur altsächsischen Genesis, von EDWARD H. SEHRT. [*Hesperia*, Nr. 14.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1925.)

The *Hesperia* Series has been characterized by many excellent monographs on various phases of Germanic philology. The latest one to make its appearance as Nr. 14 is no exception to the rule. It is a monumental piece of work, a real labor of love. Moreover, it fills a real need and puts scholars in the possession of an unsurpassed critical apparatus in the field of Old Saxon. Schmeller's *Glossarium* made no claim to completeness and, moreover, uses Latin. Heyne's *Glossar*, although it sufficed for the needs of the ordinary student, was likewise not full. Still it did give the forms of the words in the other Germanic dialects. Its chief fault is that it uses the now antiquated method of listing words containing a short root vowel separately from those having a long one. Sievers

never published the second volume of his *Heliand* edition which was to be a *Wörterbuch des gesamten as. Wortvorrats*. Otto Basler in his volume of *Altsächsisch* in 1923 announced that he was preparing a complete dictionary of the *Heliand* and *Genesis*. How much of it he completed before the appearance of the present work, we do not know. It is not likely, however, that he will be inclined to finish it now that Sehrt has anticipated him. It is one of those unfortunate occurrences which are bound to happen from time to time.

Sehrt's work is not only exhaustive, giving every occurrence of every word, but also the latest etymology by references to the third volume of Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, revised by Falk and Torp. It is to be regretted, I think, that Sehrt does not give the etymology himself. This would, of course, have increased the size and expense of the work considerably, but would have relieved the student of the necessity of having a copy of Fick and of continually referring to it. A valuable feature of Sehrt's work, however, is that the syntax of each word receives full treatment and frequent references are made to Behagel's *Syntax des Heliand*. An idea of the completeness and thoroughness of the treatment may be obtained from the fact that 36 columns or 18 pages are devoted to the consideration of *an*, as an independent word and as an element in verbal compounds. In it every possible shade of meaning is methodically set forth and properly classified. A list of proper names is added to the dictionary and is similarly complete and exhaustive. Where, as in the case of Herod, more than one person is meant, these are carefully distinguished and listed separately. In spite of the painstaking care that has been expended on the work, a few typographical errors have crept in and some omissions have occurred. These are given at the end under the heading *Nachträge und Berichtigungen*. The reviewer has not had the time to examine all of the 741 pages in detail, but has been impressed by the excellence of the printing and by the scholarly and methodical character of the work.

DANIEL B. SHUMWAY.

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Jefferson et les Idéologues, by GILBERT CHINARD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, and Paris: Les Presses Universitaires, 1925.

The key to the significance of Ideology in the history of French thought is to be found in the political situation at the time of the Revolution. Ideology was a science of ideas. It had three tenets,

(1) that the proper method for studying anything was analytical, (2) that an analysis of all ideas would reduce them without exception to sensation, (3) that such things as "ultimate causes" and "first principles," even if existent, were not open to human investigation. These three tenets were the exact antithesis to the Catholic philosophy of the time, which was the philosophy of the *ancien régime*. Catholic philosophy held that some ideas were above analysis, that some were innate and some supernaturally acquired, and that the first and ultimate cause of the world and everything in it was God, whose being and attributes could all be found in the tradition of the Synagogue and Church.

Ideology was the philosophy of the Revolution. It elaborated the most articulate of its apologies, founded its school system, educated its professors, was responsible for everything but its excesses. Its purpose was to disintegrate all authority both philosophic and political and to make the individual completely autonomous. Whereas the Church said that the individual was incapable either of truth or of political sovereignty, Ideology said that only the individual was capable of either of them.

That this philosophy, which Victor Cousin righteously called "the root of the country's misery," was the philosophy of Jefferson had been suspected before M. Chinard's book appeared but had not, I believe, been proved. Jefferson of course had no patience with metaphysics. He refused to bother with it; it was a study which seemed useless to him. He wrote to Clark Sheldon:

"I revolt against all metaphysical readings, in which class your 'New pamphlet' must at least be placed. Some acquaintance with the operations of the mind is worth acquiring. But any one of the writers suffices for that: Locke, Kaimes, Hartley, Reid, Stewart, Brown, Tracy, etc. These dreams of the day, like those of the night, vanish in vapour, leaving not a wreck behind. The business of life is with matter. That gives us tangible results. Handling that, we arrive at the Knowledge of the axe, the plough, the steam-boat and everything useful in life; but from metaphysical speculations I have never seen one useful result."¹

What Jefferson appreciated in Tracy and his Ideology was the political theory which he found there. It was a duplicate of his own. He was so appreciative of it that he supervised the publication both of Tracy's commentary of Montesquieu and of his treatise on political economy. It is in fact largely the story of these two publications that the volume which we are reviewing narrates. It is noticeable that Tracy's chapter's on love, which had been practically omitted from the French edition and sent to Monticello for translation and publication never saw the light in this country. Aside from the question of the kind of reception they would have received at the hands of Jefferson's unsophisticated contemporaries, they were foreign to the main lesson which the

¹ *Jefferson et les Idéologues*, p. 282.

President wished the book to teach, namely the Jeffersonian principle that paper money was an invention of the Devil.

When one penetrates beyond the screen of politeness which conceals the true thought at times of the correspondence of Jefferson and Destutt de Tracy, one perceives that the former saw in these publications a chance of fortifying his own position and the latter a chance of spreading the truth in the one society still capable of profiting by it. Jefferson was above all a practical man: he wished to provide a Jeffersonian text-book for legislators. Having written nothing himself which would do, he published the next best thing, a French parallel of his own theories.

M. Chinard's documents concern primarily students of political science and history, but they are not without interest also for the student of literature. For to study it is to study the curriculum of Stendhal, who was educated in the ideological school at Grenoble. His youthful heroes were Tracy, Cabanis, and Say. Their analytical method and nominalism found an echo in his novels and essays. He hated the *phrases louches* of "Plato, Kant and their school" (*sic*). The Stendhalian tradition must be traced back to them if it is to be thoroughly understood. Moreover, when the *Physiologies* come to be studied, it will be found that they too take their rise in Ideology, not now in Tracy but in the famous *Rapports* of Cabanis. Ideology, throughout the first part of the Nineteenth Century was the philosophy of liberalism just as it had been during the Revolution. In the second half its place was taken by Positivism. Its methods and its presuppositions do not die out in French cultural history but pass from academic thought into literature. The whole philosophy of naturalism, the notion that literature studies man as if he were an animal, is quite in keeping with the theory of Tracy, that "Ideology is a part of zoology." It is more than likely that it is an outgrowth of it.

M. Chinard's book clarifies another question, that of Jefferson's opinion of France. In America he was considered a gallomaniac, whereas in this volume he is shown to have been both restrained and independent in his French relationships. He admired the liberal philosophers of France but differed even with them on the question of centralization. He had nothing but condemnation for the excesses of Napoleon and the stupidity of the Restoration. In fact the French were more enthusiastic about him than he was about them. The liberals saw in him and, alas, in the United States, the one hope of freedom. They recognised that their cause had been defeated at home and throughout Europe; they believed that America was to be the seat of its final triumph. Could Destutt de Tracy have read his friend's letters to John Adams and Adams's replies, even that faith would have been shaken. One could read scarcely anything more pathetic than the avowals of disappoint-

ment made by these two ex-presidents, each of whom had hoped that they would achieve an improvement in the lot of mankind.

GEORGE BOAS.

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Origins of Poe's Critical Theory, by MARGARET ALTERTON (University of Iowa Studies, Iowa City, 1925).

The most important contribution that Miss Alterton makes to her subject appears in her initial chapter, in which she demonstrates quite conclusively that Poe not only owed to *Blackwood's Magazine* materials that he employed in several of his stories, but that he also found in *Blackwood's* and other British magazines hints and suggestions for certain general situations and methods that he adopted in his tales (in particular, the analysis of sensation and emphasis upon the horrible), and, further, that he derived from the British periodicals the suggestion of some of his critical hobbies. In subsequent chapters she endeavors to show that Poe was largely influenced in his critical theorizing by his reading in the fields of law, the fine arts and the drama, philosophy, and the natural sciences. And incidentally she calls attention to a number of items not hitherto associated with Poe which she believes to be the work of his hand.

In her endeavor to prove that Poe was under obligations for his critical dicta and methods to the law and to the advice of lawyers Miss Alterton is not entirely convincing. Is it necessary to look beyond Poe's own natural gifts and tendencies to account for his insistence upon terseness, lucidity, and orderly arrangement? In her efforts to establish an indebtedness to the fine arts and to the natural sciences, moreover, Miss Alterton leans too heavily on the new items that she attributes to Poe, some of which, to be sure, are almost certainly Poe's, while others—as the essay in *Burton's* on "The Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia"—are assuredly not in Poe's manner, and still others—as the four essays in the *Messenger* on "New Views of the Solar System," etc.—labor under a heavy burden of external evidence against their authenticity. On the other hand, she brings out several very interesting cases of verbal borrowing on the part of Poe,—notably, in his paraphrasing from Dick's *Christian Philosopher* in "Eiros and Charmion" and from the *Christian Philosopher* and Bethune's *Life of Kepler* in *Eureka*.

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

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Shakspeare's Debt to Montaigne, by GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1925.

Ever since Capell one hundred and forty years ago discovered the borrowing from Montaigne of the famous passage about the ideal commonwealth in *The Tempest*, critics have wrangled over the indebtedness of Shakspeare to the Florio translation of the French essayist. The majority of critics have contended that except certain obvious borrowings such as that mentioned the parallels are merely fortuitous; others have, however, maintained that Shakspeare made frequent use of Montaigne. Taylor's monograph attempts to settle the dispute by showing that the resemblances are too numerous to be the result of chance and that their cumulative effect betrays the strong influence of the translation on the English playwright.

The evidence falls into three divisions: (1) the phrasal similarity of passages in Shakspeare after 1603, the date of the publication of the Florio translation, and Montaigne so close as to preclude all doubt of borrowing; (2) passages so similar and numerous as to suggest borrowing; (3) a list of some 750 words from the Florio Montaigne which Shakspeare used only during or after 1603. It is the cumulative character of this evidence that makes it tantamount to proof. Almost any two parallel passages might when taken by themselves be regarded as independent of each other. When Gloucester says in *King Lear* (IV, vi, 63)

When misery could beguile the tyrant's rage
And frustrate his proud will,

it does not seem necessary to go to Montaigne's "Frustrate the Tyrants cruelty" as its source, or when Kent says "Approve the common saw," to produce Montaigne's "Approve the common saying" as a deadly parallel. But when these parallels extend over eighteen pages, one is forced to abandon the theory of chance for that of design. We know that Shakspeare had read Montaigne, that he had a very retentive memory, and that he had a feeling for words and a marvellous faculty for appropriating them whenever he found them. It is hardly chance that there should be over 750 words in the plays of 1603 and later but not in the earlier plays, and that these words should all be found in Florio. If it were a crime to steal words surely Shakspeare would be convicted.

One does not need to assume that the dramatist deliberately transferred these words and phrases from Florio's page to his own. Shakspeare was struck by their vital character, he kept them in solution in his marvellous memory, and when occasion served, he precipitated them upon his own pages. A good illustration of the way his mind worked is shown in the parallel between Hamlet's

the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to

and Montaigne's

And question might be made, whether according to her [the mind's] *natural* condition she [the mind] might at any time be so [settled]: But to joyne constancie unto it in her last perfection: I meane if nothing should *shock* her: which a *thousand* accidents may doe.

Shakspere's faculty for creating the effective phrase might easily have been furnished with its materials by the words hidden in this passage, and it is Hamlet's when he needed it for his soliloquy.

Taylor notes that the parallels are more numerous in the plays about 1603, with two or three exceptions, than in those removed from that date. Which means that Shakspere read the book when it came out and made most use of it at that time. The two striking exceptions are *The Tempest*, which is, of course, late and yet has as many as eight parallel passages, and *Othello*, which is dated about 1604 and has only four. The fact that the former play has the famous passage about the ideal commonwealth may indicate that Shakspere went back to Montaigne for the specific details and at the same time freshened his memory by running through certain parts of the book. *Othello*, on the other hand, was not a play to lend itself to the philosophizings of Montaigne. Its action is too rapid and concentrated.

Taylor hazards with considerable hesitation the guess that the change in the nature of Shakspere's thought in the plays of 1603 and after was in part due to the contents of Montaigne's essays. It probably was—in part. Whatever entered into the dramatist's mind and life, his personal experience, his constantly developing philosophy of life, his realization of tragedy as the supreme artistic expression of literary genius, must have directed him toward the tragic drama. We cannot be as certain of the influence of Montaigne in the sphere of thought as of Florio's translation in the field of words and phrases. And not only does Taylor make this evidence convincing but he also shows how Shakspere transformed into his own likeness whatever came to his hand. He is not the less Shakspere because he captured words from Florio.

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Aesthetics and Art in the Astrée of Honoré d'Urfé. Diss. Catholic University. By Sister MARY CATHERINE McMAHON. Washington, 1925. 144 pp.

Prejudice concerning the value of printed Doctor's dissertations is strong—and often well deserved. There are exceptions, however; and this one, which makes excellent and interesting reading,—and moreover is very timely, since France just celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of d'Urfé's death,—may well be considered as such. It reveals an unusually broad acquaintance with historical background, not only the field of history proper, but of Renaissance culture in general—art, architecture, literature, religion, philosophy, social customs, etc. The author tells us that many erudite friends offered valuable contributions; and indeed we readily believe it, for it would be very unusual that one person, at the age of the studies for the Ph. D., should have such wide and varied information. Moreover the whole subject is very neatly and systematically presented. The erudition never degenerates into pedantry,—a quality by no means too common in our American dissertations; everywhere one feels the direction of a master hand.

For the introductory part and whatever concerns the *Astrée* in general, the author does not add very much to Reure's volume (history of the d'Urfé family, of the Bastie château, of the relations of d'Urfé with Diane de Chateaumorand) except a remarkable—and in this case very important—familiarity with the countryside and the interior of the château. But, when it comes to the special study of art in the *Astrée*, she certainly does. The dissertation is an elaborate development of Reure's remark about the descriptions in the great novel, which are "si abondantes, si amples parfois et presque toujours si remarquables qu'on ne peut les passer sous silence" (p. 258). Reure does, however, hardly more than mention them, and the present study leaves far behind in thoroughness, in accuracy, and in interest the short chapter V of Part II of Germa's *L'Astrée d'Honoré d'Urfé, sa composition, son influence* (1904).

Chapter III begins the subject proper, the notion of Beauty as conceived by d'Urfé, and the following chapters describe the applications of this conception to rational beings, to animals, to vegetation. One would expect all this to be very dull and vague, but it is not. When one reaches the chapters in which are explained the various theories of love, the originality is not so great, for the whole story of *L'Astrée* is based on them and former students could not possibly pass them unnoticed; but one appreciates here the clear, concrete way in which all this is stated—in strong contrast with the elaborate philosophical vocabulary of professional stamp. And quite original is the way in which Platonic and Christian

morals and aesthetics are blended. Let us add in this connection that the Catholic sympathies of the author are clearly indicated at times e. g., pp. 41-43), but in no way do they narrow the viewpoint. Mythological scenes and descriptions of the feminine charms of *Astrée* or other women are given without undue puritanic reserve. The author is right in recalling Vianey's words that without this romance the great literature of the French Seventeenth century would not be what it became. Judging from the recent interest shown in *L'Astrée*, the experience of La Fontaine may be still ours:

Etant petit garçon, je lisais son roman,
Et je le lis encore ayant la barbe grise.¹

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ALBERT SCHINZ.

Piozzi Marginalia comprising some Extracts from the Manuscripts of Hester Lynch Piozzi and Annotations from her Books. Edited by PERCIVAL MERRITT. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925, pp. xii + 202 + 7.

This attractively-bound and beautifully-printed book would certainly have pleased Mrs. Piozzi. It contains a pleasant, unpretentious account of her long life (she outlived Keats), a useful description of the literature written by and about her, extracts from one of her unpublished note-books, and from her annotations of her last and least-successful publication, *Retrospection*. Whatever value the new material has lies not in itself but in its revelation of Mrs. Piozzi's vivacious personality and active, alert mind. Ten illustrations add to the interest of the book but do not help much with the question, "What would Dr. Johnson have thought of it?"

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¹ Are there no shortcomings in the little volume? Certainly; but of no great importance. P. 29, the admiration of Perrault ("There is ten times more originality in d'Urfé's work than in the *Iliad*") cannot have much weight, since we know well that Perrault was a modern and would let no occasion pass to belittle Homer. On p. 33-34, Reure's remark to the effect that "Don Juan of Molière is nothing else than a perverted Hylas" is interesting, but needs not be taken too much "au pied de la lettre." Neither ought one to accept blindly Faguet's statement that d'Urfé is the precursor of Fénelon; or Saintsbury's that "Victor Hugo was apparently influenced by it [the *Astrée*]." There is at times too much faith in the printed statements, because 'printed.' The author's own claims that Rousseau "is certainly indebted to the *Astrée* for his love of nature" (p. 93), or "that it is incontestable that the work of Watteau, Pater, Lancret, and their disciples consisted in placing before our eyes the men and women who formed French society" (p. 121), need strong qualification.

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